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Legal Phases of the Trial of John Brown*

By Daniel C. Draper

The history of the United States up to the Civil War witnessed a struggle between the individual states and the federal government as paramount powers; and the trial of John Brown was the legal crux of this struggle. The divergent interests of a Northern bourgeoisie and a Southern aristocracy could not but conflict; and, as the North endeavored to extend her industrial development by exalting federal power, the South tried to protect her agrarian system, based on slavery, by exalting states' rights. In 1857, *Dred Scott v. Sanford*[1] gave support to the Southern view; and, on October 27, 1859, the case of *Commonwealth v. Brown* came before the court of Charles Town, Virginia. The crimes for which the accused stood indicted were committed on a federal military reservation; but, even so, the local court assumed jurisdiction; and President Buchanan gracefully acquiesced. Brown was convicted of treason against the State of Virginia, and duly hanged. The precedent was significant; in little more than sixteen months South Carolina by force extended her sovereignty over Fort Sumter; and the Civil War began.

Commentators have neglected the purely legal aspects of this *cause celebre*. Hermann von Holst[2] and later General Marcus Wright[3], followed by James Ford Rhodes[4],

*This paper took form in a course in historical method at West Virginia University under Dr. F. P. Summers.

[1]*Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1856), 19 How. 396.

[2]H. von Holst, *John Brown*, Boston, 1889.

[3]Marcus Wright, "Trial of John Brown," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, IV (1904).

[4]James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1920, II, 361.

discuss its ethical aspects: as an apologist for the abolition of slavery, von Holst allowed his criteria of abstract morality to color his interpretation of fact; and Wright presents as conclusive evidence a declaration by the accused himself that the trial was fair[5], although Brown was obviously incapable of passing on the legal problems that arose, and seems, furthermore, to have complained frequently of inability even to hear the proceedings.[6]

During the trial, sympathizers raised a question that is preliminary to any study of the more involved issues. Brown's counsel received a telegram stating that the defendant's mother was insane; and they therefore entered a plea of insanity[7]. Brown, however, rose in court and overruled his attorneys[8], who, being merely his agents, withdrew the plea. No convincing evidence has ever been produced to prove Brown's insanity. The mere fact that he believed in the forcible abolition of slavery is certainly no proof; for one may believe in spiritualism[9], or in the transmigration of souls after death into the bodies of animals[10]; and these opinions are not evidence of insanity, which legally consists of delusion of fact and object, not of belief[11]. Brown's possible delirium as the result of wounds[12], moreover, and the demented condition of his mother[13] raised no legal presumption of lunacy. After Brown's counsel had withdrawn the plea, the Judge had no authority to investigate; for the Virginia Code[14] states his obligation as follows: ". . . the court of the county or corporation of which such [insane] person is inhabitant, shall, *on application of any party interested*[15], examine into

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[5]M. J. Wright, *Am. Hist. Assoc. Papers,* XVI, 362.
[6]J. F. Rhodes, *op. cit.,* II, 360. See also R. P. Warren, *John Brown,* New York, 1929, 395 *passim.*
[7]Bushrod Washington, "The Trial of John Brown," *Green Bag,* XI, 171-172.
[8]Bushrod Washington, *loc. cit.*
[9]*Brown v. Ward* (1879), 53 Md. 376; *Chafin's Will* (1873), 32 Wisc. 557.
[10]*Bonard's Will* (1872), 16 Abb. Pr. N. S. (N. Y.) 128.
[11]*Middleditch v. Williams* (1889) 45 N. J. Eq. 526. *Brown v. Ward supra. Reg. v. Burton* (1863), 3 F. & F. 772.
[12]See *Porter v. Porter* (1892), 39 Va. 118, 15 S. E. 500. *Beverly v. Walden* (1870), 20 Gratt. 147.
[13]*South Atlantic Life v. Hurt* (1913), 115 Va. 398, 79 S. E. 401.
[14]*Code of Virginia,* Richmond, 1849, p. 393.
[15]My italics.

his state of mind, and being satisfied that he is insane shall appoint a committee of him."

The recent discovery of official orders of the court[16] greatly illuminates the legal aspects of the case. These papers reveal two points at issue: first, whether residence or merely physical presence was the prerequisite for the charge of treason; and second, to what extent could the State of Virginia exercise jurisdiction over the arsenals of the United States?

Early in life, Brown had been interested in sheep grazing and in 1840 spent a few weeks in Doddridge and Tyler counties, (West) Virginia with the thought of acquiring a farm and settling there, but, immediately previous to the raid, he was certainly neither a Virginia resident nor a Virginia taxpayer. In fact John Brown was never more than a casual visitor to Virginia at any time prior to his raid on the federal arsenal. He entered the state on that October night in 1859 from Maryland, where the raiders had their rendezvous, and passed almost at once to the federal arsenal, which was under the jurisdiction of the United States.[17] The criminal acts of his raid took place within a few hours after his entrance into the state.[18] On this ground, Brown's counsel took exception to the application of the Virginia law of treason.[19] The presiding judge, Richard Parker, overruled the exception, and in so doing clearly implied that the only essential prerequisite for the commission of the crime was not citizenship or residence but mere presence on the soil.

Authorities agree that only he who owes permanent or temporary allegiance can commit treason.[20] In the first

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[16]MS. in Archives Division of West Virginia University.

[17]*Lasher v. State* (1891), 30 Texas App. 387; *Kelly v. U. S.* (1885), 27 Fed. 616; *U. S. v. Ames* (1845), 1 Wood and Minot 76; *Sinks v. Roese* (1869), 19 Ohio 306; *Leavenworth v. Lowe* (1885), 114 U. S. 525; *Ex Parte Siebold* (1879), 100 U. S. 371; *U. S. v. Cornell* (1819), 2 Mason 60; *U. S. v. Davis* (1829), 5 Mason 356; *Commonwealth v. Clacy* (1811), 8 Mass. 72. See also *Constitution of the United States*, Article I, Sec. 8.

[18]J. F. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 349 *passim*.

[19]MS. West Virginia Division of Archives.

[20]*U. S. v. Wiltberger* (1818), 5 Wheat. 96, approved by *Young v. U. S.* (1877), 97 U. S. 62. Followed as to states in *Ex Parte Quarrier* (1867), 2 W. Va. 572. See also *Prize Cases* (1862), 2 Black 670 ff. quoted in *Ex Parte Quarrier*.

place, is the rendering of this allegiance dependent merely upon presence on the soil; in the second place, if it is not, under what conditions does it become operative, and to what extent does the case of John Brown fit these conditions? Since the Virginia statute is silent upon most of the points in dispute, one must go back to the common law from which this concept of treason arose, and which presumably still remained in force.[21] Treason cases, even after 1859, may be cited in order to reveal the meaning of the original law.

Cases decided in later years have not accepted the doctrine of mere physical presence which Judge Parker laid down. *Carlisle v. U. S.* held that an Englishman "resident" in the Confederate state of Alabama owes allegiance to the United States, and can commit treason against it.[22] This case significantly does not use "on the soil" but "residence."[23] *De Jagar v. Attorney General* applies residence in an even stricter sense, and holds that a Boer "resident" in English territory owes allegiance, although the territory be evacuated by British troops and reoccupied by the Boers.[24] In *Ex Parte Quarrier,* the Supreme Court of West Virginia felt that "residence" was too broad a basis for qualification, and so held that citizenship also was necessary.[25] Although cases after the Civil War obviously could not be cited in Judge Parker's court, yet they sprang from the generally recognized common law tradition which in 1859 was available to the Court.

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[21]The statute enacted in 1776 quoted in 9 *Hen. Stat.* 168, chap. 3, sect. 1 remained identical through early revisions 1 *Shep. Stat.* 187, chap. 70, sect. 1; *Virginia Laws* (1794) p. 282, chap. 136, sect. 1; *Revised Code* (1803) p. 272, chap. 136, sect. 1; 1 *Revised Code* (1814), p. 284, chap. 136, sect. 1; 1 *Revised Code* (1819), p. 590, chap. 162, sect. 1 only to be slightly chnaged in 1849 *Code of Virginia* (1849), Part II, p. 722. The law still is based on the common law quoted in 25 *Stat. Edw.* III, stat. 5, cap. 2. An alteration in the Code, furthermore, is presumed not to have been intended unless such alteration is explicit. *Dillard v. Tomlinson* (1810), 1 Munf. 200, 207; *Commonwealth v. Carver* (1827), 5 Rand. 664-665; *Myrick v. Hasey* (1847), 27 Maine 9; *Adams v. Field* (1849), 21 Vt. 256; *Inarahm v. Regon* (1851), 23 Miss. 213; *Rigg v. Wilton* (1851), 13 Ill. 15; *McKenzie v. State* (1847), 6 Engl. (Ark.) 594; *Commonwealth v. Hartnett* (1855), 3 Gray (Mass.) 450; *Duronius v. Harrison* (1855), 26 Ala. 326; *State v. Swope* (1885), 7 Ind. 91. The matter is discussed in detail in the petition for writ of *supersedeas* quoted in the Richmond *Daily Enquirer,* November 21, 1859 See also Holdsworth, *History of English Common Law,* 1926, II, 449-50.

[22]*Carlisle v. U. S.* (1872), 16 Wall. 147.

[23]See also *Young v. U. S., supra.*

[24]*De Jagar v. Attorney General* (Eng.-Natal) 1907, A. C. 326, or 8 Ann. Cas. 76 and notes.

[25]*Ex Parte Quarrier, supra.*

Even more authoritative are a number of rulings that antedate the trial of John Brown. These likewise conflict with Judge Parker's conception. *Respublica v. Chapman* used "residence" when it held that an individual cannot commit treason against Pennsylvania before it became a state because one cannot be resident of a political unit that does not exist.[26] In his official capacity as Secretary of State, Daniel Webster declared that United States citizens who were "resident" in a foreign land owed allegiance to that country and were liable to prosecution for treason "for so long a time as they remained under the dominions of a foreign government";[27] but he later added that United States citizens owe this allegiance "independent of any domicilation." The Supreme Court, moreover, later distinguished between "residence" and "domicile," and held the former, but not the latter, as a prerequisite for the commission of treason.[28]

Treatises of common law support this view. In 1762, Sir Michael Foster declared: "Local Allegiance is founded in the Protection a Foreigner enjoyeth for his Person, his Family or Effects, during his Residence here; and it ceaseth whenever He withdraweth with his Family and Effects."[29] Lord Hale summed up the theory of "residence" and allegiance when he declared: "And this allegiance is either natural from all that are subjects born within the king's allegiance or local which obligeth all that are *resident*[30] within the king's dominions."[31]

The most conclusive case is that of the Duke of Norfolk decided in 1571.[32] In this instance, the assembly of Jus-

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[26]*Respublica v. Chapman*, (1781), 1 Dall. 33.

[27]Quoted in *Carlisle v. U. S. supra*, or Webster, *Works*, I, 526. Dominion denoted here actual territorial boundaries. See *N. E. D., s. v.*

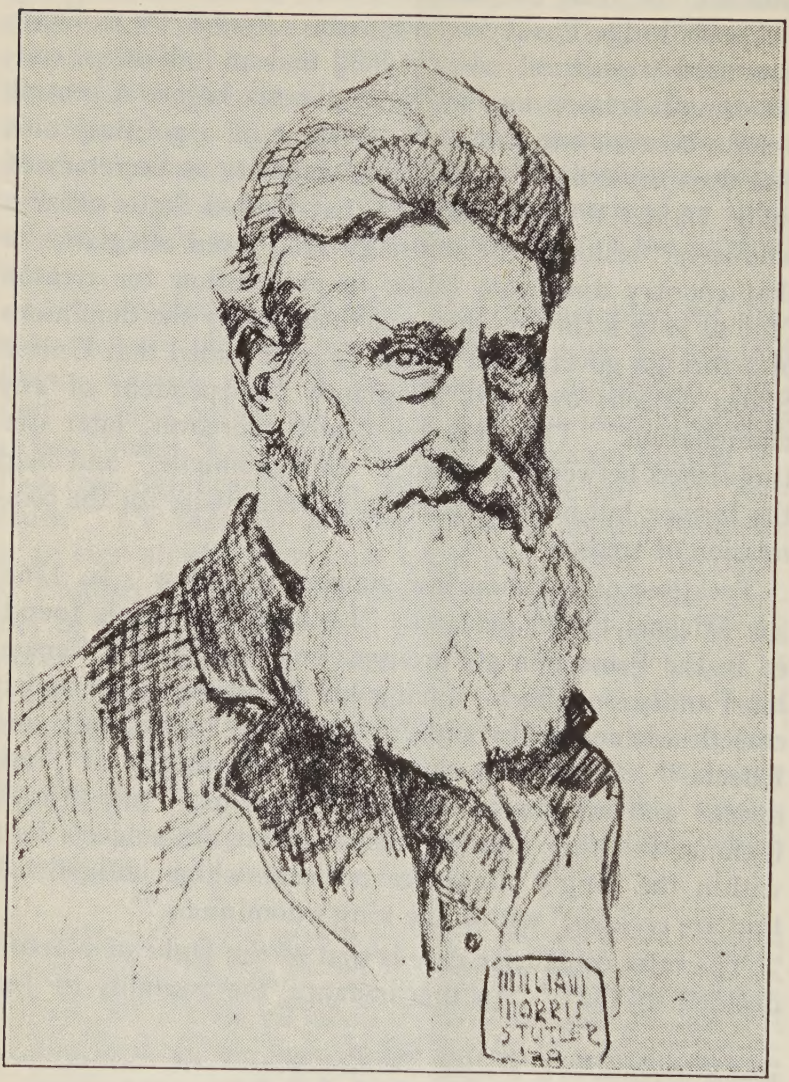
[28]See for etymology K. E. Georges, *Lateinisch-Deutsches*, Leipzig, 1902, s. v.

[29]Sir Michael Foster, *A report of some proceedings on the commission of Oyer and terminer and gaol delivery for the trial of the rebels in the year 1746, in the county of Surrey; and of other crown cases; to which are added discourses upon a few branches of the crown law*, Oxford, 1762, p. 183. See also East, *Pleas of the Crown* (1803), pp. 77-78.

[30]The italics are mine.

[31]Sir Matthew Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, Philadelphia, 1847, I, 62, Chap. X; *Daubigny v. Darellon*, 2 Anst. (Eng.) 462.

[32]*Case of the Duke of Norfolk*, MS. Brit. Museum, No. 1471 (1571), 1 Stat. Tr. 1030.



JOHN BROWN

(PENCIL SKETCH BY WM. MORRIS STUTLER FROM PHOTOGRAPH FROM LIFE MADE BY J. W. BLACK, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, IN MAY, 1859.)

tices, referring apparently to Lord Herise's case,[33] held that the Scottish Lords who raided across the border, in much the same way as John Brown did, were not guilty of treason, apparently because they were not residents; the Court also held that the Duke of Norfolk, who was an English resident and who had instigated the raid, could commit the crime of treason. Hale corroborates this view and declares: "And hence it is if an alien enemy comes into this kingdom hostilely to invade it, if he be taken, he shall be dealt with as an enemy, but not as a traitor . .".[34] Hale quotes both East and Coke as authorities. "Residence," therefore, was a vital prerequisite for any prosecution for treason; and a raider, such as Brown, was not a resident.

Judge Parker might have maintained, however, that the indictment of Brown was defensible on the ground that, since the courts, between 1571 and 1859, have consistently extended the scope of "residence" in matters other than treason, this term might further be extended so as to include a raider from across a border. This, however, is not a valid argument; the definition of "residence" even today would not be sufficiently broad for Judge Parker's purposes. Whether Lord Herise's case uses "residence" in the constructive, technical, legal sense, or in the sense of common parlance denoting the personal and actual habitation of an individual, is hard to say. At any rate, although "residence" has no fixed meaning applicable to all cases alike,[35] and is difficult of precise definition,[36] certain mininum requirements distinguish it from mere physicial presence:[37] one must have stopped for a period

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[33]Coke, *Institutes* (1809), Part III, p. 11: *Herise's case* Co., P. C., Cap. 1, p. 11. 7 Co. Rep. 6a. *Perkin de Warbeck's* case MS. Brit. Museum, quoted in Hale *supra*. This rule may not have applied to Ireland. See also petition for writ of *supersedeas*, Richmond *Daily Enquirer*, November 21, 1859, for *Calvin's Case* and other authorities.

[34]Hale *op. cit.*, I, Chap. 10, p. 58.

[35]*Fisher v. First Trust Joint Stock Land Bank* (1930), 231 N. W. (Iowa) 671. For school districts, see *Baker v. Conway* (1926), 214 Ala. 356; *Kidd v. Joint School Dist.* No. 2 (1927), 194 Wisc. 353, 216 N. W. 499, 501. *State v. Smith* (1896), 64 Mo. A. 313, 319. *Trask v. Karrick* (1920), 94 Vt. 70.

[36]*McLauchla's Petition* (1924), 1 Fed. (2d) 5; intent for residence in bankruptcy, *In re Garneau* (1904), 127 Fed. 677, 579. *State v. Smith supra.*

[37]*Fisher v. First Trust Joint Land Bank* (1930), 231 N. W. 671.

of time;[38] and one must have stopped in some kind of shelter.[39] Although judges in recent years have shortened the time element, and have abandoned both physical presence and the narrower term "domicile" in favor of the more general terms "abode" and "dwelling," yet "residence," even in its narrowest modern sense, denotes at least a temporary lodging for the night.[40] Thus by no conceivable stretch of definition could a person who had merely crossed a bridge into Virginia and proceeded through her territory for less than a half a mile, be called a Virginia resident. Subsequently, Brown may have made a foray deeper into the state; but, even in this case, such a movement could have lasted only a short time. To convict of treason, therefore, the Court must needs make a judicial ruling that clashed with the common law.

From the time of *Respublica v. Carlisle* in 1778,[41] later under Marshall,[42] under Story[43] and under Chase,[44] the American courts, as far as treason is concerned, have regularly mitigated, rather than intensified, the common law. In this case, however, Judge Parker goes beyond even a

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[38]Residence is the equivalent of bodily presence for a time; *in re Newcomb* (1908), 192 N. Y. 238, 250, or 84 N. E. 950; *Flatauer v. Loser* (1931), same as above, 156 App. Div. 591, 593, 141 N. Y. S. 951; residence for school purposes, where one lives for the winter, *Trenton Board of Education v. Crill* (1911), 73 Misc. 472, 133 N. Y. S. 394, 297; *Pecos etc. Rail Co. v. Thompson* (1914), living in a particular locality, 106 Tex. 456, 167 S. W. 801, 803; and implied strongly by the use of dwelling or domicile in *Wilson v. Danley* (1924), 165 Ark. 565 *People v. Platt* (1888), 50 Hun 454, 470, 3 N. Y. S. 367, *Hall v. Hall* (1870), 25 Wisc. 600, 607; residence includes the idea of staying in the place for the time, *Handing v. Standard Oil Co.* (1910) 182 Fed. 421, 425; *Willingham v. Swift* (1908), 165 Fed. 223, 224; distinction between residence and domicile, *Lawson v. Adland* (1891) 46 Minn. 243; misappropriation of funds, residence where one sleeps and the physician visits, *Smith v. Smith* (1917), 122 Va. 341; differentiates between domicile and residence, *Long v. Ryan* (1878), 30 Gratt. (71 Va.) 718; residence differentiated from whereabouts, *Krunmenacker v. Andis* (1917), 38 N. D. 500.

[39]See above cases and *Matter of Hawley* (1866), 1 Daly (N. Y.), 531, 533; *in re Newcomb* (1908), 192 N. Y. 238, 250; *Morgan v. Nunes* (1877), 34 Miss. 308, 310; *Watson v. North Carolina* (1910), 152 N. C. 215; *Mt. Hope School Dist. v. Hendrickson* (1924), 197 Iowa 191. Idea of home, *Littlefield v. Clayton* (1917) (Tex. Civ. App.), 194 S. W. 194, 198. *See* also before 1850, residence defined in cases of debt, *Frost v. Brisbin* (1837), 19 Wend. 11 and *Lask v. U. S.* (1839), 1 Pin. (Wisc.) 77.

[40]*Webster v. Minister of Health* (Eng.) (1926), 43 T. L. R. 36, 37 D. C. quoted in *Eng. and Empire Digest, XLIV*, 1315.

[41]*Respublica v. Carlisle* (1778), 1 L. Ed. 35.

[42]Soliciting a foreign prince in time of peace to invade one's homeland is not treason: *U. S. v. Burr* (1807), 25 Fed. Case No. 14,693. But see Lord Mansfield, C. J. in *Rex v. Hendy* (1758), 6 Stat. Tr. 1341.

[43]*Fries' Case*, 25 Fed. Cas. 165, and *Charge to Grand Jury* (1861), Fed. Cas. No. 13,273 hold mere assembly and words not treason. But see *Rex v. Tongue* (1662), 6 State Tr. 226.

[44]*Young v. U. S. supra* held conspiracy beyond the sea not treason. But see 1 State Tr. 1807 *Sub nom. Story's Case* (1571), 3 Dyer 298b, 300b.

liberal construction of the law, beyond the definition of treason formulated in the Middle Ages,[45] beyond the law as applied by Judge Jeffries,[46] and beyond the standards set up under Henry VIII and George III.

The Supreme Court of Appeals, moreover, then the highest tribunal in Virginia, rejected Brown's petition for writ of *supersedeas*. Perhaps it also subscribed to Judge Parker's theory of treason, but more probably the following provision of the Virginia Code was decisive: ". . . when there are several counts in an indictment of information; and a general verdict of guilty is found, [as was so in this case] judgment shall be entered against the accused if any count be good, though the others are faulty."[47] The petition, however, endeavors to overcome this section and holds it modified by the following: "But on the trial the court on the motion of the accused [such motion was presented] *may*[48] instruct the jury to disregard any count that is faulty." Counsel for the appellant contended: "No argument or citation, though both are abundant, is necessary to prove that where a statute says, a court *may* do what justice and right require, in the administration more especially of criminal law, there it is the *duty* of the court so to act, and that if it do not, error is thereby committed."[49] The petition, furthermore, alleges that the indictment in the other counts was unwarrantedly vague as to time, place, and persons involved.[50]

Whether one follow this view or not, another question, wholly ignored in the petition, would appear to cast the

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[45]Stat. Edw. III, *loc. cit.*

[46]Jeffries, C. J. in *Rex. v. Rosewell* (1684), 10 State Tr. 147.

[47]*Virginia Code* (1849), chap. 208, sect. 34; *Mowbray v. Commonwealth* (1841), 11 Leigh 643 overruling *Kirk v. Commonwealth* (1838), 9 Leigh 627; *Clere v. Commonwealth* (1846), 3 Gratt., 615. The Court of Appeals certified the trial "plainly right." See George Caskie. "The Trial of John Brown," *Virginia State Bar Association Twenty-Second Report*, 1909, p. 276.

[48]The italics were inserted in the petition, Richmond *Daily Enquirer* November 21, 1859. See also *Rand v. Commonwealth* (1852), 9 Gratt. 738.

[49]Richmond *Daily Enquirer*, November 21, 1859. The petition is here printed in full.

[50]*Commonwealth v. Marks* (1833), 4 Leigh 658-660; *Hord v. Commonwealth* (1833), 4 Leigh 674; *Bishop v. Commonwealth* (1856), 13 Gratt, 787; *Scott v. Commonwealth* (1858) 14 Gratt. 687; *Baker v. Commonwealth* (1817), 2 Virginia Cases 122; *Jacobs v. Commonwealth* (1830) 2 Leigh 710; *Commonwealth v. Peas* (1834) 2 Gratt. 629; *Marshall's Case* (1848), 5 Gratt. 663, *Cocke's Case* (1885) 13 Gratt. 750. See also for more detail Richmond *Daily Enquirer*, November 21, 1859.

THE TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN, AT CHARLES TOWN, (W.) VIRGINIA, FOR TREASON AND MURDER.
(SKETCHED BY D. H. STROTHER, "PORTE CRAYON." REPRODUCED FROM LESLIES WEEKLY.)

remaining counts in doubt. Could Virginia rightfully exercise jurisdiction of the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry? Although authorities differ as to the number killed, the proslavery but caution Baltimore *Sun*[51] declared that the raiders shot two persons on federal property and probably several within the state.

In the first place, was Brown involved as a principal in the murders within the state? On leaving Maryland, he directly traversed the few hundred yards to the arsenal, and no accounts refer to any deaths this early in the expedition. Rhodes mentions but a single occasion on which Brown later left the arsenal, and this was to escort a Baltimore and Ohio conductor across the Potomac bridge in order to convince him that it was not mined.[52] In this instance, no one was killed.[53] According to the testimony, moreover, of those captured as hostages by the various parties raiding outside the reservation, Brown took no part in these expeditions, and in every case was in the arsenal when the hostages were brought in.[54] Brown, therefore, was responsible, for these murders in the state only as an accessory.

A provision of the Virginia code declared that "In the case of every felony, every principal in the second degree and every accessory before the fact, shall be punishable as if he were the principal in the first degree . . .".[55] The indictment charged Brown only as a principal in the first degree, not as an accessory,[56] and the jury rendered the verdict, "Guilty of treason and conspiring with slaves and others *in the first degree*."[57] According to Virginia law, the indictment must clearly stipulate whether one be charged as a principal or as an accessory, even if one crime

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[51]Baltimore *Sun*, October 22, 1859. All references to the *Sun* in text are to the number of this date.
[52]J. F. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
[53]*Ibid.*, p. 350 ff.
[54]*Senate Reports*, 1st Session, 36th Congress, No. 276, pp. 2, 6, 19, 21, 31, 34, 43, *passim*.
[55]*Virginia Code*, Richmond, 1849. Chap. CXCIX, Sec. 7. p. 750.
[56]MSS. West Virginia Division of Archives.
[57]J. F. Rhodes, *History of United States from the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1906, II, p. 405. The italics are mine.

be the legal equivalent of the other.[58] The Court, therefore, apparently must have considered murders that occurred on the United States property rather than those committed within the territory of Virginia.

A second issue naturally arises: to what extent could the Virginia court exercise jurisdiction over these crimes committed on a military reservation? Usually in cases of domestic insurrection, involving the use of federal troops, military tribunals supersede the civil courts; but, in this case, President Buchanan, inadvertently or not, neglected to make the requisite proclamation. Since the Constitution, however, provides that arsenals purchased with state permission shall be entities entirely separate and immune from the legal processes of the state,[59] and since Virginia, in the manner deemed necessary by the courts, had authorized the purchase of the Harpers Ferry arsenal,[60] a federal, rather than a state, court should normally have prosecuted Brown.

One might maintain, nevertheless, that the possible death within Virginia of individuals shot on federal property affected the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States courts. The Baltimore *Sun,* however, declares that Beckham, one of the two men shot on Federal property, was killed instantly, and that Private Quinn was removed to a hospital on the arsenal grounds, the apparent place of his death. Even if one doubt the exact location of Quinn's death, the United States courts after the Civil War in *U. S. v. Guiteau,*[61] sanctioned the predominant common law opinion[62] that jurisdiction rests where the wound is in-

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[58]*Raesnick v. Commonwealth* (1822), 2 Va. Cases 356; *Thornton v. Commonwealth* (1874), 24 Gratt. 657; *Hatchett v. Commonwealth* (1882), 75 Va. 925; *State v. Lilly* (1900), 47 W. Va. 406

[59]Constitution of the United States, *supra; State v. Kelly* (1885), 76 Me. 331; *United States v. Ames, supra; Leavenworth v. Lowe, supra; People v. Godfrey, supra; U. S. v. Cornell, supra; U. S. v. Davis, supra; Commonwealth v. Clary, supra; Sinks v. Reese, supra.*

[60]Samuel Shepard, *Statutes* (New Series) Richmond, 1835, p. 306. See also *Annals of Congress*, March 21, 1794, p. 72.

[61]*U. S. v. Guiteau* (1882), 1 Mackay 498, 47 Am. Reports, 247.

[62]*State v. Hall* (1896), 115 N. C. 811 following *Simpson v. State* (1844), 4 Humph. (Tenn.) 461; *Green v. State* (1880), 66 Ala. 40; *Tyler v. People* (1860), 8 Mich. 326; *Henmaker v. State* (1849), 12 Mo. 453; *U. S. v. Guiteau, supra.* See also *Rex v. Coombes* (1785), 1 Leach, 388.

flicted rather than where the victim dies. A special statute[63] permitted the courts of Virginia to prosecute a murderer whose victim died outside the state, but no such statute authorized the courts to prosecute a murderer who, like Brown, inflicted the fatal blow outside the State, but whose victim died within the State. With only the common law as a guide, the court might well have decided the question as it wished. The federal courts, however, have laid down the general principles governing such situations: "However proper it may be that the courts of the States where the Common Law exists should treat such questions of jurisdiction from the standpoint of that law, that question must be treated by the courts of the United States, where a fort or a magazine or an arsenal is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government, from the standpoint of Federal authority and with reference to the relation of the crime to the sovereignty of the United States."[64]

John Brown probably would have preferred a trial in a federal court where a change of venue might have been obtained, and Virginia seems to have recognized this possibility. In a letter to Governor Henry A. Wise, Andrew Hunter, Brown's special prosecutor, intimated that John E. Cooke, one of the defendants and a brother-in-law of Ashbel P. Willard, the Democratic Governor of Indiana, might be permitted a federal trial.[65] Governor Wise, although he ostensibly denied any such intention, also suggested the possibility, and desired to oblige "my friend," Governor Willard;[66] but, in order to obviate public criticism of such discrimination, Cooke was later convicted in the Charles Town court and hanged.[67] This byplay between friendly state executives seems to imply that even Virginia felt that Brown might obtain a more favor-

[63] *Code of Virginia*, see title Criminal Law. This overrules *Commonwealth v. Linton* (1820), 2 Va. Cases 205.
[64] *U. S. v. Guiteau, supra.*
[65] *Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, XI, p. 87, *passim.*
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[67] *MS.* West Virginia Division of Archives.

able hearing in the federal courts. What then occasioned the assumption of jurisdiction by the State?

The Baltimore *Sun* sheds more light on the problem, and reveals the unusual method by which the jurisdiction was originally obtained. Its first statement, published October 22, 1859, reads as follows: "It appears that the prisoners are amenable to the United States and State authorities—to the former for murder, to the latter for treason." The paper added that the federal court would be in session "next Monday," and so apparently expected federal jurisdiction. In the same issue appeared a notation to the effect that Robert Ould, the Federal District Attorney for the Western District of Virginia, was in conference with President Buchanan. Its final comment on jurisdiction was: "The sending of the prisoners to Charles Town is believed to be a concession to the views of Governor Wise who claims to try them by the laws of Virginia."[68] Such "concessions," however, are usually confined to politics rather than to criminal justice.

Thomas Drew, a Northern pamphleteer, suggested that possibly a reservation in the deed of cession of the land on which the Arsenal stood made this "concession" possible;[69] but the present writer can find no such reservation in the deed;[70] and, even if such reservation existed, it could hardly take precedence over an express article in the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Thomas C. Green, an eminent member of the Charles Town bar and the son of one of the lawyers for the defense, declares that Brown's counsel filed a general demurrer on the basis of jurisdiction to the indictment;[71] and, according to a pro-Southern account,[72] Judge Parker overruled this demurrer, and cited an earlier decision of his own in which he maintained that Virginia had jurisdiction.[73]

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[68]Governor Wise told President Buchanan that when Virginia was done with the culprits, the United States could hold the remainder. See also Hall *MSS.* Debates on West Virginia Constitution, Dec. 13, 1861.

[69]Thomas Drew, compiler, *John Brown*, Boston, 1860, p. 60.

[70]See *MS.* Charles Town Court House, deed between United States and Elizabeth and Ferdinand Fairfax. See also *MS.* Martinsburg Court House.

[71]Interview, November 24, 1938.

[72]Bushrod Washington, "Trial of John Brown," *Green Bag*, XI, 173.

[73]*Ibid., loc. cit.*

In view of the supporting precedent, the failure of Brown's counsel to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States under Article I, Section 8, is puzzling. Mr. Green suggests, however, that, since no stenographic record of the trial exists, and since a demurrer was apparently entered, the failure to appeal resulted perhaps from a conviction on the part of the other defendants that such appeal would only delay an inevitable execution.[74] The lawyers seem to have followed this policy for all defendants; and Brown appears not to have realized the exact situation. Much confusion, furthermore, was created by his imprudent change of counsel in the midst of the proceedings.[75]

No procedural obstacles, however, deterred the lawyers for defense. At any time before the execution of judgment, they could have appealed; for the defendant's consent, either implicit or explicit, does not confer jurisdiction.[76] Irrespective of any question of appeal to a higher court, the local court erred in not sustaining the original demurrer. As George F. Caskie, a Virginian, declares in a Southern periodical:

> When John Brown reached Harper's Ferry, his first act was to take possession of United States' property and overpower United States guards found there. When finally captured, it was by United States troops on United States' property after a fight in which one of the United States Marines was killed. Were these occurrences to take place today, it will hardly be doubted that the jurisdiction of the whole matter would be taken by United States courts.[77]

On the other hand, the Virginia court probably did not have access to the more obscure of these cases, previously cited, and it certainly intended no special discrimination against Brown, for the judge seems to have made a similar

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[74]Interview, *supra.*

[75]M. J. Wright, *loc. cit.*

[76]*Bostwick v. Perkins* (1848), 4 Ga. 47; *Hill v. People* (1868), 16 Mich. 351; *Green v. Creighton* (1848), 18 Miss. 159, 10 Smedes and Mason 150; *Coffin v. Tracy* (1805), 3 Caines (N. Y.) 129; *Blin v. Campbell* (1817), 14 Johnson (N. Y.) 432; *Cuyler v. Rochester* (1833), 12 Wend. (N. Y.) 165; *Dudely v. Mayhew* (1849), 3 N. Y. (Comestock) 9; *Preston v. Boston* (1831), 12 Pick. (Mass.) 7; *Chapman v. Morgan* (1849), 2 Greene (Iowa) 374; followed in *Louisville Trust v. Cominger* (1901), 184 U. S. 18.

[77]George F. Caskie, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

error in an earlier case.[78] The prevailing Southern view of states rights, moreover, doubtless prompted both the Charles Town court and the Virginia Court of Appeals to deal this blow to Federal power.

Other aspects of the movement had already gained impetus from the courts. Consequently President Buchanan, following an opinion of his own Attorney General, found that, although the secession of the Southern states was unconstitutional, no authority then remained to restrain them.[79] According to Mr. Edward Corwin so atrophied was the legislative prerogative that Lincoln on his inauguration resorted to "war power."[80] The Circuit Court was apparently swept away by a similar view.

In *Commonwealth v. Brown,* therefore, the judicial phase of a conflict, fierce and many sided, reached a crisis. Within the framework of the constitution of one nation, two social and economic systems, agricultural and industrial, two English traditions, Cavalier and Puritan, two competing sovereignties, state and federal, struggled for supremacy. The founders envisaged state and federal authorities both paramount and yet harmonious. As Calhoun pointed out, the scheme failed.[81] Under the Confederation, the states prevailed; in the early days of the Constitution, the federal authority prevailed. The combined efforts of Calhoun and Taney resurrected a modified tradition of thirteen jealous colonies; and the trial of John Brown saw this interim of reaction rise to its apogee.

Twenty-five years before, the Federal courts would doubtless have exercised jurisdiction,[82] and after the Civil War, the national government would certainly have claimed it; but the South, as the work of Corwin and Dun-

[78]B. Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 173-174.

[79]Edward McPherson, *History of the United States during the Rebellion etc.*, Washington, (1882), p. 54.

[80]Edward Corwin, *The Twilight of the Supreme Court*, New Haven, (1934), pp. 13-14.

[81]John Calhoun, "Disquisition on the Constitution and the Government of the United States." *Works* ed. Crollé, Columbia, (1851), I., 236 ff.

[82]See *U. S. v. Cornell* (1819), 2 Mason 60; *U. S. v. Davis* (1829), 5 Mason 356; *Commonwealth v. Clacy* (1811), 8 Mass. 72; *Mitchell v. Tibbets* (1835), 17 Pick. 298; 6 *Opins. of Atty. Gen'l.* 557 citing *People v. Godfrey* (1819), 17 Johnson 225.

ning[83] amply attests, was winning in the judiciary the battles that it later lost on the field of actual combat. The Dred Scott decision[84] was merely the harbinger of a greater curtailment of federal authority. The trial of John Brown was not only the unwitting caricature of a refined constitutional conception, not only a strained and curious application of the theory of states rights, but also the Gettysburg, the veritable Pickett's charge, of the judicial side of the conflict.

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[83]Edward Corwin, *loc. cit.* William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and the Reconstruction*, New York, 1931, pp. 3 *passim*.
[84]*Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1856), 19 How. 396.

Old Fort Ashby

By J. C. Sanders

Shortly after George Washington and his Virginia rangers had surrendered to the French at Fort Necessity, and General Braddock's redcoats had been slaughtered at the battle of the Monongahela, Virginia decided to take energetic measures for the defense of her frontier. In the summer of 1755, the Burgesses, who were usually niggardly in their appropriations, voted £40,000 for extra troops.[1] The imperialistic Governor Dinwiddie was delighted, and the following year he pressed for the complete fruition of a plan which he had projected in 1753. This plan comprised the building of a cordon of forts which should extend from the Potomac, at the mouth of Patterson Creek (now Mineral County), to the border of North Carolina.[2] It is with one of these forts that this paper is concerned.

Fort Ashby, erected in 1755, is still standing and is believed to be the only original colonial fort south of the Potomac, and possibly in our entire country. Through the combined efforts of the Potomac Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Mineral County Court, this brave old fort has been repaired. Barring any mishap, it will survive another hundred years.

In the fall of 1755, George Washington directed Lieutenant John Bacon to build a fort on the east side of Patterson Creek, on the plantation of Charles Seller, or on the land of "the late McCrackins." So dangerous had the situation become on the frontier that Lieutenant Bacon was charged to apply for an armed escort. The structure was to be "a Quadrangular Fort of Ninety feet, with Bastions."

[1]Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 73.
[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 100, 65n.

Barracks and a magazine were to be an integral part of the fortification.[3]

Let us compare the appearance of Fort Ashby today with the above specifications. The old fort is of the blockhouse type, thirty by thirty-six feet. The projecting second story has long since decayed. The foundations are of stone and the outer walls are of hewn logs chocked with lime and clay mortar. The "inside center" chimney, which is sixteen and one-half feet wide, is said to have been used as a protecting barricade, as well as for heating purposes. The logs used in construction vary in thickness from eight to nine inches, and in width from twelve to twenty inches. The sill logs and several others are continuous timbers, thirty-six feet long. The corners are overlapped logs joined by interlocking dovetail joints. The workmanship in the joinery indicates that the highest type of artisans were employed in construction, although the builders were rude Virginia frontiersmen.

On closer examination, one may observe that the logs are pitted with cavities which appear to be bullet holes and arrow impacts. As the depressions are clearly from dry rot and borer holes, the correctness of this assumption seems all the more evident. A large timber beam extends down the center of the fort and acts as a summer beam for the second story joists. These rest directly on this beam instead of being tenoned into it. This is typical of early pioneer framing.

The outside doors are hung from wrought-iron strap hinges, and the full length of the door is reinforced with handmade, ornamental nails and drops nailed to the jambs. The inside doors are hung by -H- and -L- handmade, wrought-iron hinges, typical of the age in which the fort was built. Wrought-iron latches and keepers serve the doors as locks.

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[3]Washington to Lieutenant Bacon, October 26, 1755, *The Writings of George Washington*, edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, 1931), I, 222-23.

At the close of the French and Indian War the fort was converted into a residence. Certain features of this renovation are unique in character. The plastered wall of the stairway to the attic is formed by split lath, woven or laced over wood uprights, instead of being nailed to studs. The lack of nails in that period probably accounts for this feature. The plaster is made of sand clay and marsh bulrushes. In order to make the plaster hold to the inside surface of the logs, wooden pegs were driven into the entire inside surface of the logs about one and one-half to two inches apart. Recently, when the fort was being repaired, the crude iron tool with which the holes were made to fasten these plaster pegs was found in the rubbish.

Fort Ashby was the scene of much military activity during the French and Indian War. Several companies which Washington raised in the Shenandoah Valley and east of the Blue Ridge were marched directly to Fort Ashby to protect the early settlers. According to the testimony of Captain Charles Lewis, who took charge of the Fort on Christmas Day, 1755, this protection was indeed timely. Here are two entries from Captain Lewis' diary:

> Oct. 24 — A very wet day, we marched to Patterson Creek on which we camped in a deserted house. We found here good corn, wheat and pasturage. Before we discharged our pieces, being wet, and charged them in expectation of seeing the enemy. Col. Washington marched before with Capt. Ashby's Company of rangers 14 miles.
>
> Oct. 25 — We marched from Patterson Creek and passed many deserted houses. I was this day very curious in the examination of the mischief done in the households and was shocked at the havoc by the barbarous and cruel Indians.
>
> At one MacGriggans I found the master of the family who had been buried but slightly by his friends after his assassination, half out of the grave and eaten by the wolves; the house burnt; the corn field laid waste and an entire ruin made. At half past six we arrive at Fort Cumberland cold and hungry. We had this day, by Major Lewis's order, two women ducked for robbing the deserted houses . . . . 14 miles.[4]

Fort Ashby was the scene of many exciting events during the troublesome times from 1753 to 1761. Scarcely had

[4] "Journal of Captain Charles Lewis," *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, (Richmond, 1892), XI, p. 216.

the fort been built, when the plantation owner, Charles Keller, was shot by an Indian. A cedar tree still marks his grave which is not more than three steps from the old fort. This event seemed to presage what was to follow.

Captain John Ashby who had charge of the fort in the spring of 1756, was attacked by the Indians on the nearby hill and was driven back in flight. Strangely enough, it was from this incident that the fort was afterward called Fort Ashby. On April 15, Captain Ashby wrote Colonel Henry "Van Meter" that a force of four hundred Indians had appeared and demanded surrender of the fort.[5] Washington, commenting on this report to Governor Dinwiddie, observed that "Ashby's letter is a very extraordinary one" and that he felt that the Indians were simply trying to "intimidate" him. He (Washington) had therefore notified Ashby to defend the fort and, if driven out, to "blow up the fort" and retire to Cumberland.[6] By May 15, the fort was garrisoned by Lieutenant "Newgent," two sergeants, and twenty-five privates from King George County, and Lieutenant "Lewis," two sergeants, and thirty-five privates from Spottsylvania County.[7]

On August 4, 1756, Washington, writing to Governor Dinwiddie, said:

> I make no doubt that your honor has ere this heard of the defeat of Lieutenant [Robert] Rutherford of the Rangers, escorting an express to me at Fort Cumberland, and of the dastardly behavior of the militia, who ran off without one half of them having discharged their pieces, altho they were apprised of the ambuscade by one of the flanking partys, before the Indians fired upon them; and ran back to Ashbys fort contrary to orders, persuasions, threats, etc. They are all ordered in as soon as the people have secured their harvest.[8]

This incident — called a fight — took place only a stone's throw from the old fort. Within the past half dozen years, leaden bullets from the guns of the French and Indians have been gouged from the rear logs of the old fort.

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[5]S. M. Hamilton, *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1898), I, 221.
[6]Washington to Dinwiddie, April 22, 1756, Fitzpatrick *Writings*, I, 324-26.
[7]*Ibid.*, pp. 371-72.
[8]*Ibid.*, pp. 415-24.

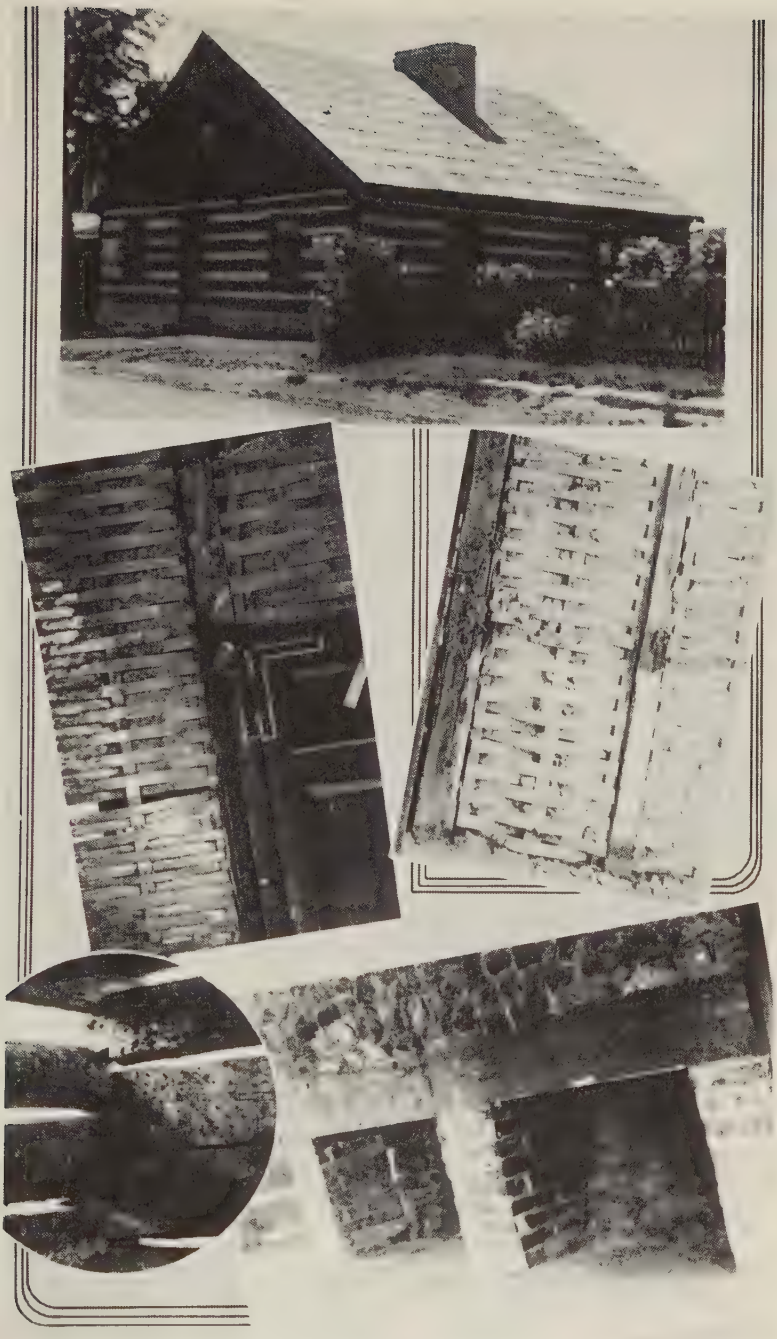
From the correspondence of that period it would seem that army discipline was difficult to maintain. Washington, the youthful commander-in-chief of the forces of Virginia, had to assume a stern tone at times. In December of 1755 he wrote to Captain John Ashby:

> There are continual complaints to me of the misbehavior of your wife, who, I am told sows sedition among the men and is chief of every mutiny; if she is not immediately sent from the camp or I hear any more complaints of such irregular behavior, upon my arrival there I shall take care to drive out myself and suspend you.[9]

The question is often asked: who were the people living in the Patterson Creek Valley around old Fort Ashby during the period of the French and Indian War? Just five years before the beginning of this conflict, James Genn, Virginia's colonial surveyor, assisted by the boys, George Washington and George Fairfax, surveyed and laid off the Patterson Creek Survey and outlined the Patterson Creek Manor. Recently, the Mineral County Historical Society secured copies of these surveys and the names of the people to whom Lord Thomas Fairfax made grants of this land. Among the people who received these grants of land and who afterwards helped to protect the valley and country against the French and Indians are: Johnson, Parker, Long, Reasoner, Ruten, Thompson, Colston, Keller, Beaver, Rogers, Hamlin, Cunningham, Good, Walters, Kuykendall, Martin, Robinson, Hutton, Norris, Rutherford, McCracken, Worthington, Umstot, Crist, Hassel, Decker, Anderson, Cresap, Collins, Ross, Rolfe, Van Meter, Williams, and Hedges.

As gleaned from the diary of Washington, the records of the Ohio Company, and other original sources, some of these people had settled in the valley long before the Fairfax survey of 1748. Original papers, in the possession of descendants of Abram Johnson, show that the land around old Fort Ashby had been settled by "tomahawk" claim prior to the later historic survey. These early settlers from

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 264-65.



(TOP) FORT ASHBY, AS RESTORED—ONLY REMAINING BUILDING OF "FORT" ERECTED IN 1755; (CENTER) PARTITION CONSTRUCTED AT CLOSE OF FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, SHOWING DOOR WITH SEVENTEENTH CENTURY H. AND L. HINGE AND WOVEN "SPLIT LATH," USED BECAUSE OF LACK OF NAILS; (LOWER LEFT) SECTION OF LOG WALL SHOWING WOODEN PEGS USED TO HOLD PLASTER, MADE OF CLAY, SAND, AND SWAMP BULRUSHES; (LOWER RIGHT) DOUBLE FIREPLACE.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey had crossed the narrow strip of Maryland and pushed up the Patterson Creek Valley, built houses, and were living there with their families when, in the spring of 1747-48, Washington stayed with Abram Johnson and Solomon Hedges. Old receipts show that these people paid their debts in "pancelvany" money, "Jersey" money, and "lights" money.

The stubborness with which these hardy pioneers clung to their wilderness holdings indicates the "stuff" they were made of. Neither sporadic Indian depredations nor war itself could drive them from their wilderness homes.

Story of Fort Henry

By A. B. Brooks

Early settlers in the region of which West Virginia is now a part had the problem of dealing with the Indians, many of whom had been provoked to unfriendliness. A combination of scouts and fortresses was the usual method of protecting settlements. The scouts, chosen on account of their skill as woodsmen, were constantly alert to detect the presence of Indians who might be skulking in nearby covers. By this means settlers were warned of danger and could enter a fort if one were available.

The Wheeling Settlement

An entry in Washington's Journal, for October 23, 1770, made during his memorable trip down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to Point Pleasant and return, contains his only reference to settlers at this place: ". . . About three miles or a little better below this place, at the lower point of some islands which stand contiguous to each other (Sisters and Pike Island) we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia had marked the land from hence all the way to Redstone . . ." The three men referred to were doubtless Ebenezer, Jonathan and Silas Zane who, in the previous year, 1769[1] had come from the South Branch Valley, Virginia, had marked trees to establish tomahawk claims to the land, and made further preparations for permanent settlement. The land marked covered most of the present site of Wheeling, including Elm Grove. Soon

[1]Although 1769 is generally given as the Wheeling settlement date, an account contained in a "History of Wheeling and Ohio County," by Hon. Gibson Cranmer, 1902, states that the Zane Brothers, together with Isaac Williams, two persons of the name of Robinson, and probably one or two others . . ." left their homes on the South Branch in the late fall of 1769; that cold weather and hunger caused them to turn back; and that the three Zanes did not reach the Ohio River and build their first cabin at the mouth of Wheeling Creek until the fall of 1770.

afterward others came. In historical accounts some of the names listed are: McCulloch, Wetzel, Biggs, Shepherd, Caldwell, Boggs, Scott, Lynn, Mason, Ogle, Bonnett, McMechen and Woods.

Fort Henry

The fort at Wheeling, first named Fort Fincastle for one of Lord Dunmore's titles, was built early in June, 1774, by Major William Crawford whom John Connolly, the Royal Captain Commandant of West Augusta, then at Fort Pitt, sent down the Ohio River for this purpose.[2] In Lord Dunmore's war Major Crawford made three expeditions to the Indian territory, in the second of which he built Fort Fincastle.[3]

An inquiry about Fort Henry addressed to the War Department, Washington, D. C., was replied to by Major General E. T. Conley in part as follows: "This office has no plans for Fort Henry, Virginia, and it has been ascertained from the Chief of Engineers, War Department, this city, that that office has no plans of the fort. It was built on the site of Zane's Run, and was originally named Fort Fincastle, 1774. It was renamed Fort Henry, in honor of Gov. Patrick Henry, 1776."[4]

Descriptions of the site and the construction of Fort Henry are found in many places. Contradictions occur often. The following is chosen as typical of the descriptions:[5]

"The fort was in the shape of a parallelogram, with wooden towers or bastions at each corner, which projected over the lower story and which were pierced by port holes for the use of rifles and muskets. In case of attack the fighting was carried on almost entirely from these bastions. Between these bastions was stretched a strong and closely-

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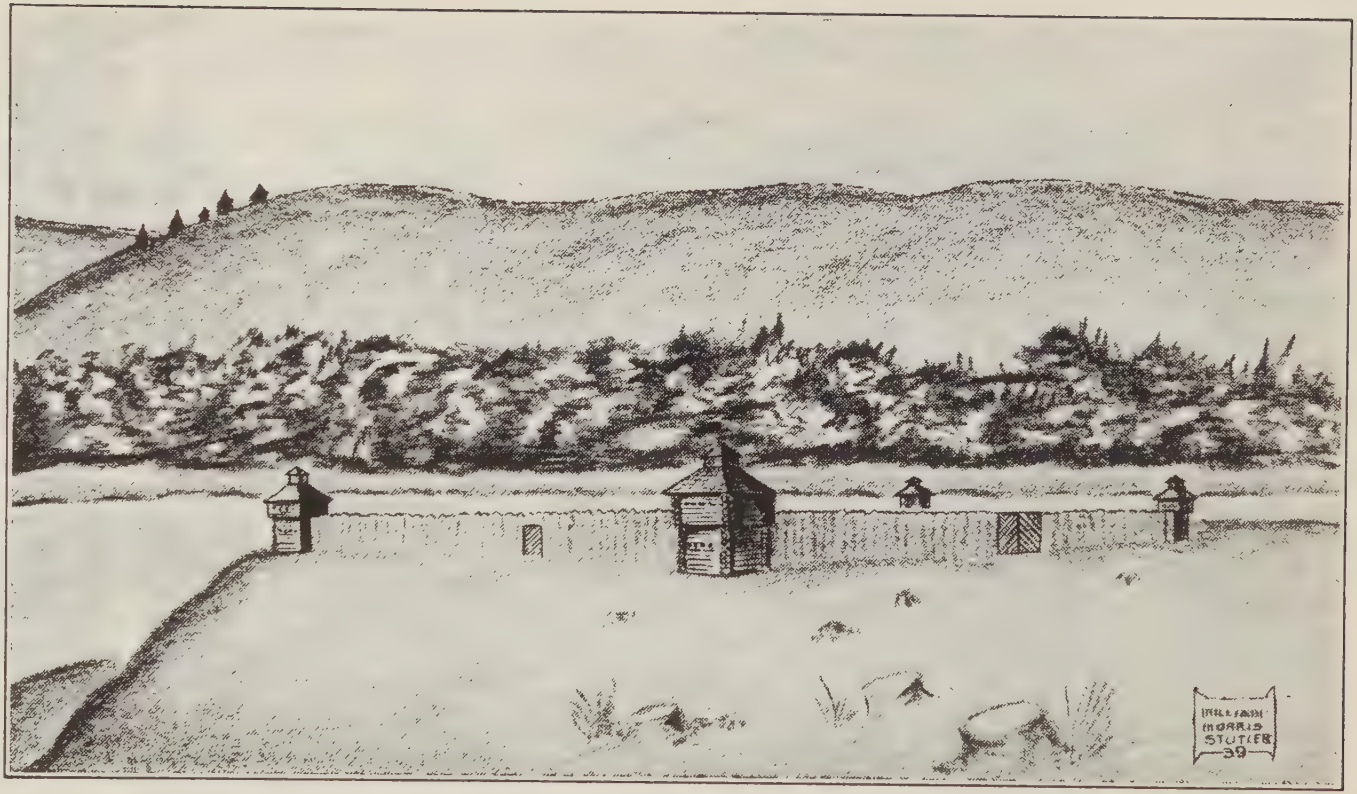
[2]See Penna. Archives IV, pp. 519-552; and Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 95; also Thwaite's "Dunmore's War," published by the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905, page 86.

[3]"The fort was erected in the spring of 1774 on a plan submitted by Col. Angus McDonald and was erected under the supervision of Gen. George Rogers Clark." —"History of Wheeling and Ohio County," by Cranmer, page 95.

[4]It was called "Wheeling Fort" by Lord Dunmore in a letter to Col. Andrew Lewis, July 12, 1774. (See "Dunmore's War" p. 86.)

[5]"History of Wheeling and Ohio County," by Cranmer, p. 108.



FORT HENRY, (WHEELING), (W.) VIRGINIA
(SKETCH BY WM. MORRIS STUTLER, BASED UPON PLANS AND MEASUREMENTS BY S. H. BROCKUNIER, 1893.)

connected line of oak and hickory pickets, surrounding the entire enclosure,[6] within which were located a magazine for powder, barracks and cabins for sheltering those who sought refuge within the stockade. On the roof of the barracks[7] was mounted a swivel gun captured during the French and Indian War by the British. There was also a well of water within the stockade. On the west side of the Fort outside of it was a never-failing spring of pure, limpid water. The main entrance was on the east side, which was closed by a strong wooden gate. The ground in the vicinity was cleared, fenced and cultivated, extending to the base of the hill on the east, about an eighth of a mile distant.

"From the bluff on the south side of the fort extended the bottoms to the bank of Wheeling Creek. The expanse of ground was a level stretch of land and was used for a cornfield. As late at 1810 it was occupied by no buildings of consequence.

"To the southeast of the fort and distant from it about 70 yards stood the residence of Col. Ebenezer Zane, located on a level with the fort, built of rough hewn logs and which at the threatened attack on the fort by the Indians in 1781, was burnt by them. The owner subsequently rebuilt the house, and it was occupied and held by him with a force of five men at the siege of the fort in 1782..."[8]

First Attack on the Fort

"In the year 1774 there was a war against the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Murders, retaliations and robberies by the Indians and the settlers early in the summer, caused a general alarm to spread throughout the region west of the Alleghanies. Forts were built to which the people fled for safety; but in many cases this precaution

[6]The height of the pickets, or logs, forming the stockade is usually given as seventeen feet.

[7]Most authorities say the gun was mounted on the roof of the Commandant's two-story house in the fort.

[8]The Zane house stood near the present Stone & Thomas Department Store, on Main Street. There are several logs of the building still in existence, as well as small remnants of the stockade. The fort stood on the west side of Main St. There is a small marker placed at the edge of the sidewalk on the west side of Main Street.

was not sufficient. Victims of savage butchery were numerous."[9]

This situation was greatly aggravated by expeditions sent out to burn Indian villages. Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, sent two armies of 2,000 men, to attack the Indians on their own ground. One army went by way of Pittsburgh and Wheeling, to the Little Kanawha. This division was led by Governor Dunmore. The other, under General Lewis, crossed the mountains from Lewisburg, and thence down the Kanawha to Point Pleasant, where the great battle with Cornstalk and his warriors took place.

In August, 1777, General Hand, of Fort Pitt, learned from spies that the Indians were collecting in large numbers for an attack on some part of the country. He believed that Wheeling would be the point assailed. Therefore, all settlers between Fort Pitt and Point Pleasant were warned of the danger.[10] Although no Indians were reported by the spies, suddenly, on the morning of September 1, they appeared before Fort Henry. They had assembled, the previous evening and night, on the Ohio side of the River.

Although accounts are somewhat conflicting, we shall try to look in on the scene and note what was happening. Within the fort were gathered members of the approximately thirty families of the settlement—about forty men and twice that number of women and children. On account of being previously warned they had provided themselves with sufficient food and ammunition. The cabins, barracks, and commandant's house furnished shelter. The seventeen-foot solid wall prevented their seeing out, but port holes in walls and bastions provided restricted views and opportunity to use rifles. On top of the commandant's two-story house was mounted a dummy cannon. Col. Silas Zane was in command of the fort.[11]

[9]"History & Government of West Virginia"—Fast and Maxwell.

[10]"Wheeling Illustrated,' H. R. Page & Co., 1889, states that Dr. John Connolly, Commandant of West Augusta, then at Fort Pitt, notified the inhabitants of the threatened attack.

[11]Callahan's "History of West Virginia," page 86, states that the fort was commanded by Col. David Shepherd.

On the outside were gathered, in the sheltering cover of the woods about 400 Indians of the Shawnee, Wyandot and Mingo tribes (some say 300), supplied with arms and ammunition by the English. Some authorities state that the renegade, Simon Girty, led the Indians, but others deny it. The Indians did not attack openly at first. They carried out an ambuscade which succeeded. Early in the morning a few Indians showed themselves, as decoys. Captain Mason, with 14 men left the fort and went in pursuit. The Indians fled and drew Mason's men into the trap. Only three escaped. Captain Ogle, hearing the firing, went to the rescue with twelve men, nine of whom were killed. This left about a dozen men to defend the fort. Encouraged by success the Indians moved forward for an attack. Their first act was to demand surrender, through a "white man" stationed in a window of one of the abandoned cabins. He offered protection to those who surrendered, emphasizing that he spoke for Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, representative of the British army. The reply to the demand for surrender was answered by a shot at the announcer from a port hole of the fort. Immediately there was a rush at the gate by the Indians, and repeated attempts to break down the wall by the use of battering rams. Failing in this they attempted to set fire to the stockade, carrying flax and other inflammable materials and piling them against the outside. This also failed. The expert riflemen inside, aided by the women who assisted in loading guns, made good use of the time the Indians were in exposed positions. After twenty-three hours of vain attempts to break down the stockade or destroy it by fire, the attackers turned their attention to destruction of houses and property of all kinds. Every cabin was burned and all stock, including some 300 cattle, was killed. In the meantime, Colonel Andrew Swearingen, and 14 men, from Holliday's Fort came down the Ohio River by boat and entered the fort. Major Samuel McCulloch, with 40 men, also arrived from Fort VanMeter. His men rode through the gate, which was thrown open

on their approach, but McCulloch was cut off by the Indians and prevented from entering. He was followed by the enemy up Wheeling Hill where he met another body of warriors returning from a foray. Being thus hemmed in he escaped by forcing his horse over a steep declivity. The story of this feat is well known.

An attack on Fort Henry, planned in 1781, was abandoned for some unknown reason; and a contemplated attack in the summer of 1782, was thwarted.

Second Attack on Fort Henry

In September, 1782, occurred the last siege of Fort Henry, regarded by some as the last battle of the Revolution. A force of forty irregular British soldiers and 238 Indians, under Captain Bradt, made the attack. Between the former siege and this one the homes of the settlers had been rebuilt, including that of Ebenezer Zane. His dwelling contained a store of surplus ammunition and arms and it had been decided to occupy it in case of another attack. Being notified of the approach of the enemy by John Lynn, a scout, preparations were speedily made for the expected attack. Those who demained within the Zane house were Andrew Scott, George Green, Elizabeth Zane (Colonel Zane's wife), Molly Scott, Miss McCulloch, a sister of Major Samuel McCulloch, a negro slave and his wife, "Daddy Sam" and Kate. From all other homes the occupants had entered the fort. Although Colonel David Shepherd was superior officer in the county it appears that Colonel Silas Zane was again in command.[12]

The Indians approached carrying the British flag and asked for surrender, which was refused. During the night of attack the garrison of Fort Henry was re-enforced by the arrival of a few men who had come down in a boat from Pittsburgh. They carried some cannon balls, some of which were taken and used in the real cannon which had been substituted for the wooden one, the rest being appropriated by the attackers.

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[12]Captain Boggs, according to one author, was Commandant.

The first efforts of the enemy were toward destruction of the fort by battering it in every way possible. The first day was spent in futile attempts in this direction. The Indians placed their chief reliance upon burning and during the night made many attempts to burn both the fort and Colonel Zane's house. The negro slave detected the approach of an Indian and killed him as he was about to set fire to the residence. The cannon was brought into play, firing sixteen times during the attack. Being impressed by the effectiveness of the cannon, the Indians and soldiers made one of their own out of a hollow tree which they wrapped with chains found in a blacksmith shop and loaded with the balls taken from the Pittsburgh boat. When they fired it the explosion did no damage to the fort but killed and injured several persons who stood about.

It was during the second siege that the ammunition ran low in the fort and a volunteer, Elizabeth Zane, sister of Ebenezer Zane,[13] ran to the cabin and returned under fire with a supply of powder, thus doing her part toward defense, and furnishing the background for a much-repeated story of pioneer days.

At the end of three days the Indians were thoroughly discouraged and, soon after, when Captain Boggs arrived with seventy men, they gave up and turned their attention to Rice's Fort, in the vicinity, where they lost heavily again.

Thus Fort Henry not only saved a large proportion of the inhabitants of the young colony at Wheeling, but played an important, though minor, role in the closing days of the American Revolution. The Second Siege was the last formidable raid of Indians into West Virginia.

Reconstruction Proposed

Such interest attaches to Fort Henry that patriotic and historically-minded citizens have proposed its reconstruction. The space which it occupied is now built up with

[13]According to "Border Settlers" by McWhorter, a "more plausible story is that Molly Scott and not Elizabeth Zane carried the powder."

houses and crossed by city streets. It would be necessary, therefore, to erect the stockade at some not distant point. It would be desirable to make of the reconstructed fort a local historical museum, exhibiting chiefly such things as belonged to that particular period. In this way it would again serve the community and the state.

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Virginia Frontier Defenses 1719-1795*

By Roy Bird Cook

The story of the defense of the frontier of Virginia begins about the year 1719, by which time there seems to be reasonable evidence of settlers south of the Potomac River, on what is now the soil of West Virginia. The Indian, with some misgivings, of course, viewed the gradual encroachment of the white man in this region with a certain degree of tolerance. Indeed, for thirty years the two groups lived to some extent in peace and harmony. However, entrance of the French into the Ohio Valley led to the opening of the French and Indian War in 1754, which, while it ended in America by 1762, actually swept on into the fields of Europe. The opening marked the beginning of border warfare between settlers and colonial and state troops and the Indians that did not end until the power of the tribes was broken by General Anthony Wayne, in the treaty of 1795.

Robert Dinwiddie, Royal Governor of Virginia, gave more than passing attention to the western border of that day. In March, 1756, the Virginia Assembly authorized the erection of a chain of defenses on the west. Colonel George Washington, who had achieved distinction in the operations of the British Army and the local troops in the Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) region, was placed in charge. A long region reaching out from the head of the Ohio River, swinging east to Wills Creek (Cumberland), and thence roughly following the Allegheny Mountains to North Carolina, received attention. A chain of forts about

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twenty miles apart, designed to afford some protection for the settlers, was constructed during the next year. Many were the scenes of tragic episodes in which numerous lives were lost, especially in the region now along the South Branch of the Potomac.

The Ohio Valley was the key to the possession of the continent. The ten years of comparative peace following the close of the French and Indian War disclosed a continual movement from eastern Virginia to western Virginia, and a like movement down along the Ohio River from the Pittsburgh entrance. The old line of defense fell more or less into disuse. Then came the hectic days of 1774, and a new outbreak between the settlers and the Indians, called Dunmore's War, of which the most important episode was the Battle of Point Pleasant. A new line of defense was then developed, running from Fort Pitt, and "old Fort Redstone," following generally the Monongahela and West Fork of the Monongahela, and the Ohio Valley, together with the regions along the Great Kanawha as far west as Maysville, Kentucky. In western Virginia there then sprang up a long series of forts, stockades, and blockhouses, located at strategic points to safeguard the pioneer settlers in this region.

The defenses of the frontier may be classified into three general groups. First, the fort, which was the strongest type of a fortress, and generally but not always erected under the direction of the Executive Council of the State, and garrisoned in like manner. Second, the stockade, which was usually a large log house with a palisade around it, embracing enough ground to shelter several families in time of need. Third, the blockhouse, which was to be found of several types. Some had a second story, overhung, and others simply had provision made for rifle defense.

In the preparation of the list appended, no attempt has been made to go into extensive details. There is merely a brief statement as to location. It provides a check list, arranged alphabetically, of names of posts of defense on the

border, which has been compiled from records, and letters, and in some cases from pension applications of participants.

Forts, Stockades and Blockhouses

ARBUCKLE—A stockade erected about 1774 by Captain Mathew Arbuckle at the mouth of Mill Creek, a branch of Muddy Creek, Greenbrier County.

ASHBY—A stockade, located on the east bank of Patterson's Creek, on the site of the village of Alaska, formerly Frankfort, Mineral County. Erected by a company of men commanded by Lt. John Bacon, in 1755, and named for Captain John Ashby. One of the buildings erected therein is the only remaining structure of its kind in West Virginia dating back to the frontier posts of defense.

BAILEY—See Davidson.

BAKER—Erected in 1782, by Captain John Baker. Located at the head of Cresap's Bottom, Mead District, Marshall County. Also designated in many contemporary records as "Baker's Station," and sometimes as "Cresap's Fort."

BALDWIN—A blockhouse situated on the site of Blacksville, Clay District, Monongalia County.

BEECH—See West.

BEECH BOTTOM — A small stockade, situated in Buffalo District, Brooke County, twelve miles above Wheeling. The garrison participated in the first siege of Fort Henry in 1777, and also in Indian incursions of March, 1789.

BEELER—A stockade erected in 1779 by Colonel Joseph Beeler at Beeler Station Church, eight miles from the site of the town of Cameron, Marshall County. Designated as "Beeler's Station." A garrison of fifty men was stationed there in 1781.

BELLEVILLE—A rather extensive fort, erected on the site of Belleville, Wood County, in 1785, under direction of Captain Joseph Wood. Composed of a group of four blockhouses, embracing a square 100x300 feet, in which was located a central fort building, 20x40, two stories high.

BINGAMAN—A small fort situated four miles south of Petersburg, in Grant County. Named for Samuel Bingaman.

BLAIR—See Randolph.

BOWLING—The exact location has never been ascertained, but records indicate its existence in the "panhandle" above Wheeling.

BUCKHANNON—A small fort situated at Red Rock, about two and one-half miles west of Buckhannon, Upshur County. Scene of an Indian foray March 8, 1781.

BURNSIDE—Mentioned in contemporary records. Situated in territory now embraced in Monroe County. Also listed as Byrnside.

BURRIS—A small fort located on the "Flats" on the east side of the Monongahela River, Morgan District, Monongalia County.

BUSH—This fort was situated about a mile and one-half northeast of Buckhannon, above where Turkey Run joins the Buckhannon River in Upshur County. Location of settlement by Hackers, Jacksons, and others, as early as 1769.

BUTLER—A small fort erected about 1774 at the mouth of Roaring Creek, on the east side of Cheat River, Preston County.

BUTTERMILK—A stockade located on the South Branch of the Potomac, three miles above the present town of Moorefield, Hardy County. Sometimes referred to as "Fort Waggoner," a title derived from the fact that Captain Thomas Waggoner once commanded troops at that point.

CAPON—A stockade located at the "forks of Capon," in the Great Cacapon River valley, Hampshire County.

CASSINO—See Currence.

CHAPMAN—A blockhouse erected by the Chapman family in 1784, near the site of New Cumberland, Hancock County.

CHARLES—The history of this fort is not clear. On August 10, 1776, Col. John Stuart, at Greenbrier, reported that he "expects to have a fort soon completed at Camp Union," now Lewisburg. On Sept. 20, Captain McKee reported to Colonel William Fleming, "I arrived at Fort Charles in the Savannah on the 27th with only 17 men."

CLARK—A small stockade fort erected by Henry Clark in 1771, on Pleasant Hill, Union District, Marshall County. Consisted of four cabins, with a ten-foot palisade wall.

CLOVER LICK—A small fort erected by Jacob Warwick at Clover Lick, Pocahontas County. Also mentioned as Warwick's Fort.

COAL—See Tackett.

COBUN—A small stockade fort erected by Jonathan Cobun in 1770, near Dorsey's Knob, on Cobun's Creek, Monongalia County.

COCKE—A stockade located on Patterson's Creek, six miles southeast of Keyser, and nine miles from Fort Ashby. Named for Captain Thomas Cocke.

COOK—A large stockade fort embracing one and one-half acres with four blockhouses erected under direction of Captain John Cook, situated on Indian Creek, just below Greenville, Monroe County. It sheltered over three hundred settlers in 1778.

COON—A small fort located on the west bank of Coon's Run, about three miles from the West Fork of the Monongahela, in Marion County.

COOPER—A blockhouse erected by Leonard Cooper in 1792, on the north bank of the Great Kanawha River, eight miles above Point Pleasant.

CRESAP'S—See Baker's.

COX—A stockade fort located at the mouth of the Little Cacapon River, on the eastern side of the stream. Named for Friend Cox.

CULBERTSON—A stockade erected in 1774 by Captain James Robertson. It was situated on the site of a settlement established by Andrew Culbertson in 1753, now known as Crump's Bottom, on New River, Summers County. Frequently mentioned in early records as "Fort Byrd," and "Fort Field."

CURRENCE—A small fort erected in 1774, one-half mile east of the site of the town of Crickard (Mill Creek), Huttonsville District, Randolph County. It has also been called "Fort Cassino."

DAVIDSON-BAILEY—A small blockhouse erected about 1780 by John G. Davidson and Richard Bailey, near the head of Beaver Pond Springs, a short distance from the site of present Bluefield.

DAVISSON—A small blockhouse type dwelling erected by Daniel Davisson near the corner of Chestnut and Pike Streets, Clarksburg.

DAY—See Keckley.

DEFIANCE—Located on the South Branch of the Potomac, about twenty miles above the "Trough."

DINWIDDIE—A stockade situated on the site of Stewartstown, Monongalia County. Appears to have been erected by John Rogers, and sometimes called "Fort Rogers."

DONNALLY—A large, two-story double log house surrounded by a palisaded wall erected by Col. Andrew Donnally prior to 1771, on Rader's Run, near present Williamsburg, Greenbrier County. Scene of a most important action of the border wars in May, 1778, and one of the most important military posts on the frontier.

DRENNAN—A small fort situated at Edray, Pocahontas County. Named for Thomas Drennan.

DUNMORE—A small blockhouse, situated on the site of Dunmore, Pocahontas County.

EDINGTON—A small fort situated near the mouth of Harmon's Creek (opposite Steubenville, Ohio), in Cross Creek District, Brooke County.

EDWARDS—A small fort situated five miles south of present Boothsville, in Booth's Creek District, Taylor County.

EDWARDS—A stockade located on or near the site of present Capon Bridge, Hampshire County. Named for the family of that name, owners of the land thereabouts.

ENOCH'S—Situated on the Great Cacapon River, fifteen miles from its mouth, at or near the present village of Largent.

EVANS—A stockade fort situated two miles south of present Martinsburg, at the head of Big Spring, Berkeley County. Erected by John Evans, in 1755-56.

FARLEY—Situated on New River at what is known as "Warford," on Crump's Bottom, Summers County. Erected by Thomas Farley.

FIELD—See Culbertson.

FINCASTLE—See Fort Henry.

FLESHER'S—A small blockhouse erected at what is now the corner of Main and Second Streets, in the city of Weston. Contemporary records indicate as "Flesher's Station."

FLINN—A small stockade erected under direction of members of the Flinn family, located on the upper point, at the junction of Lee Creek with the Ohio River, in Wood County. In early records frequently designated as "Flinn's Station."

FRIEND—A small fort erected by Jonas Friend, at Maxwell's Ferry, on Leading Creek, Randolph County. Scene of important Indian forays in 1781.

FURMAN—A stockade situated three miles north of Romney, Hampshire County. Erected under direction of William Furman. Also called Forman and Foreman.

GEORGE—A small stockade situated on the east bank of the South Branch of the Potomac, near present Petersburg, Grant County. Presumably erected by the Welton family about 1754.

GREENBRIER—Erected about 1771 by Captain Peter VanBibber, situated on Wolf Creek near site of Lowell, Summers County. Scene of attack on Graham family in 1777. Possibly also known as Jarrett's Fort.

GREEN BRYER—A small station erected by Andrew Lewis on the site of Marlinton, 1755.

HADDEN—A small fort erected by John Hadden, near the mouth of Becco's Creek, Randolph County.

HADDEN—A strong fort situated on the point of land on the west side of the stream at the junction of Elkwater Creek with the Tygarts Valley River, Randolph County. Named for the family of that name who came to this location from the South Branch of the Potomac. Sometimes mentioned as Old Fort.

HARBERT—A blockhouse erected on Jones Run, a branch of Ten Mile Creek, about two miles from Lumberport, Harrison County. Scene of an Indian attack, March 3, 1778.

HARNESS—Situated, according to the Washington papers,—"81 miles west of Fourt Loudoun (Winchester), and on the South Branch," for the protection of the inhabitants of the "trough" region of the valley.

HARRISON—A stockade fort erected by Richard Harrison at the source of Crooked Run, in Cass District, Monongalia County, on the west side of the Monongahela River.

HEDGES—A small stockade on the west side of Back Creek, near Hedgesville, on the road leading from Martinsburg to Berkeley Springs.

HENREY—A local fort in Greenbrier County, the exact location of which is not known. In command of Captain James Henderson, September 12, 1777.

HENRY—This was one of the largest and most important forts on the Virginia border. It was erected in part on the high bluff along what is now Market Street, in the city of Wheeling, in 1774, by Ebenezer

Zane and John Caldwell, under the military direction of Major Angus McDonald. It was first designated as Fort Fincastle, in honor of the Viscount Fincastle, better known to Virginians as Lord Dunmore. He visited the post in the fall of 1774, with a command of twelve hundred men, during the "Point Pleasant Campaign." In 1777 the fort was rebuilt and much enlarged, embracing in all more than half an acre of ground, and renamed Fort Henry, in honor of Patrick Henry. The fort underwent a siege by Indians in 1777, and in September, 1782, was the scene of the last engagement of the American Revolution.

HINKLES—A stockade fort erected about 1760 by John Justus Hinkle, near the site of Riverton, on the North Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac, in Pendleton County.

HOLLIDAY—A small fort erected in 1776 on the site of Holliday's Cove, Hancock County.

HOPEWELL—Situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, at a location unknown. Mentioned in Washington Papers in 1754.

JACKSON—A small blockhouse, located about three miles west of Bush's Fort, on Fink's Run, Upshur County.

JACKSON—A small stockade erected in 1774 on Ten Mile Creek, Sardis District, Harrison County.

JARRETT—See Greenbrier.

KECKLEY—A small fort erected about 1772 at present Millpoint, Little Levels District, Pocahontas County. Subsequently sometimes designated as Fort Day, and Price's Old Fort, and Keekley.

KEENEY—A small fort situated near Keeney's Knob, Summers County.

KELLY—A small fort erected by Captain William Morris in 1774, on the site of Cedar Grove, Kanawha County, at the mouth of Kellys Creek. Named for Walter Kelly, who attempted to establish a settlement at this point, but was killed by the Indians. Appears as "Kelly's Station" in many contemporary records.

KERNS—A stockade fort erected about 1772 by Michael Kerns at the mouth of Deckers Creek, now the Greenmont section of the city of Morgantown. An important frontier post.

LEE—An important military post erected in April, 1788, at the corner of present Brooks and Kanawha Streets, on the site of Charleston, by a company of Virginia Rangers under Colonel George Clendenin. Named for Henry Lee, governor of Virginia, but better known as General "Light Horse Harry" Lee, of the American Revolution. Sometimes referred to as "Clendenin's Station."

LIBERTY—A blockhouse, situated on the site of West Liberty, Ohio County. Sometimes called the "Court House Fort."

LINK—A blockhouse erected by Jacob Link in 1780, near the site of Triadelphia, Ohio County. Scene of an important Indian attack in 1781.

MAIDSTONE—A stockade situated on the point at the mouth of the Great Cacapon River, Morgan County. Erected 1756.

MANN'S—A small fort erected by Adam and Jacob Mann, about 1770, situated on Indian Creek, ten miles west of Union, Monroe County.

MARTIN—A stockade erected by Presley Martin at the mouth of Fish Creek, Franklin District, Marshall County.

MARTIN—A fort erected by Charles Martin in 1773, situated on the west side of the Monongahela River, on Crooked Run, in Cass District, Monongalia County. Scene of an Indian attack in June, 1779.

MASON (HUGH) MILL FORT—Situated near Upper Tract, Pendleton County.

MINEAR—This fort was situated on the site of St. George, Tucker County, erected in 1774 by John Minear. Scene of Indian depredations in 1780 and 1781.

MORGAN—A small stockade fort erected about 1772, by members of the Morgan family, on the site of the city of Morgantown. Near "Fort Kerns."

MORRIS—A stockade embracing about an acre of ground, on Hog Run of Sandy Creek, Grant District, Preston County. Constructed under the direction of Richard Morris, in 1774.

MORRIS—A stockade fort erected by Captain John Morris in 1774-75. It was located on the south bank of the Great Kanawha River, opposite the mouth of Campbells Creek, near what is now known as South Malden, Kanawha County.

McKENZIE—Situated at an undetermined location on the South Branch of the Potomac. Named for Captain Robert McKenzie. Mentioned in Dinwiddie Papers 1757.

NEAL—A stockade fort erected in 1786, under direction of Captain James Neal. It was situated on the south bank of the Little Kanawha River, one mile from its mouth, in what is now the "Fort Neal" section of the city of Parkersburg. It was an important place of refuge during the Indian wars, and the object of Indian forays in August, 1789. Appears in many contemporary records as "Neal's Station."

NEALLY—A small stockade on Opequon River, Berkeley County. Scene of an Indian attack and massacre, September 17, 1756.

NUTTER—A stockade fort erected by the family of that name in 1772, on the east bank of Elk Creek, now embraced in the "Nutter Fort" section of the city of Clarksburg.

OGDEN—Situated on Difficult Creek, Grant County, southeast of Gormania. Also called "Logsdon Fort."

OHIO—A blockhouse erected in 1750, for the Ohio Company on the site of Ridgeley, Mineral County.

PARKERS—Situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, ten miles from Fort Ashby.

PARIS'S—Location unknown. Mentioned in Washington Papers, May 13, 1756, indicating that it was near Ashby's Fort.

PATTERSON'S—Said to have been situated on the South Branch of the Potomac.

PAWPAW—Small fort situated on Pawpaw Creek, not far from the town of Rivesville, Marion County.

PEARSALL—A stockade erected by Job Pearsall, 1755-1756, on the site of present Romney.

PETERSON—A small stockade situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, two miles above the mouth of the North Branch, Grant County. Erected 1756.

PIERPONT—A small fort erected in 1769 by John Pierpont. It was located about one mile from the village of Easton, and about four miles from Morgantown, in Union District, Monongalia County.

PLEASANT—A large stockade comprising cabins, palisades and blockhouses. It was situated on the "Indian Old Fields," in Hardy County, a mile and one-half above the "Trough." Erected in 1756 by Captain Thomas Waggoner. Often called "Fort Van Meter," and later "Town Fort," because of proximity to Moorefield. Near here in 1756 was fought by the Indians and white settlers the "battle of the Trough," so widely known in the annals of the border.

POWERS—A small stockade erected, presumably by James Powers, in 1771. It was located about one mile north of the town of Bridgeport, on Simpson's Creek, in Harrison County.

PRICKETT—A stockade fort erected by the family of that name in 1774, situated at the mouth of Prickett's Creek, on the east side of the Monongahela River, five miles below the city of Fairmont. It was here in 1779 that the celebrated encounter between David Morgan and the Indians took place.

RANDOLPH—This fort stood on the site of the city of Point Pleasant, and along with Fort Henry and Fort Donnally was one of the most important frontier military posts. The first stockade was erected here, under the direction of General Andrew Lewis, following the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, during Dunmore's War. Later in the fall of the same year, Captain Williams Russell, with a company of rangers, appeared, and erected a new fort composed of two blockhouses, and a palisade, which was named Fort Blair, in honor of John Blair. It was evacuated and abandoned in June, 1775, and presumably destroyed by the Indians. During the summer of 1776, under the direction of Captain Mathew Arbuckle, a larger and more pretentious fort was erected, which was named Fort Randolph, in honor of Peyton Randolph. This in turn was abandoned by the garrison in July, 1779, and was burned by the Indians. About 1786 another fort was erected a short distance above the previous sites, in which a garrison was stationed until 1795, commanded most of the time by Colonel Thomas Lewis. Fort Randolph underwent a siege by the Indians in May, 1778.

RICE—A large stockade fort erected by the Rice family, located on Buffalo Creek, about fifteen miles from its mouth, in Brooke County, near the present location of Bethany College. It was the scene in September, 1782, of one of the most important episodes in the Indians wars,

during which six defenders drove away a band of over a hundred Indians.

RICHARDS—This was an important fort erected in 1774, by Arnold Richards, located on the west bank of the West Fork of the Monongahela, half a mile southeast of West Milford, Harrison County. Also designated as Lowther's Fort and West Fork Fort.

RIDDLE—A small stockade on Lost River, Hardy County. Scene in 1756 of a battle between a body of Indians commanded by a French officer, and a company of Virginia frontiersmen. Also listed as Ruddle.

ROBINSON—A blockhouse erected by Captain Isaac Robinson in 1791, located on the Ohio River opposite the foot of Six Mile Island, Mason County. It was attacked by Indians the same year.

ROGERS—See Dinwiddie.

SALEM—A blockhouse situated on the site of New Salem, now Salem, erected by a group of settlers from Salem, New Jersey.

SAVANNAH—A most important military post located on the site of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, presumably between 1769 and 1774. It was the meeting point for the Virginians who marched under General Andrew Lewis to Point Pleasant, in the fall of 1774. Some authorities suggest that a fort may have been erected on this site as early as 1755, under orders issued by General Braddock.

SELLERS—A small stockade at the mouth of Patterson's Creek, erected 1756. Named for Thomas Sellers.

SEYBERT—A large stockade having cabins, palisades and blockhouses, situated on the South Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac, twelve miles northeast of Franklin, Pendleton County. Scene of Indian massacre, April 28, 1758.

SHEPHERD—Situated on the Potomac River, near "Old Pack Horse Fort," where Shepherd College now stands, Shepherdstown. History obscure.

SHEPHERD—A most important stockade fort, erected in 1775, under direction of Captain David Shepherd, situated at the forks of Wheeling Creek, near present Triadelphia, Ohio County. It was evacuated in September, 1777, and burned by the Indians, but rebuilt in 1786, and further extended in 1790.

STATLER—A stockade fort erected by John Statler after 1770, on Dunkard Creek, Clay District, Monongalia County. Scene of a bitter Indian attack in 1779 when many settlers lost their lives.

STEWART—A blockhouse erected by John Stewart in 1773, on Stewart's Run, about two miles from Georgetown, Grant District, Monongalia County.

STUART—A fort erected by Colonel John Stuart, at a large spring, four miles southwest of Lewisburg, Fort Spring District, Greenbrier County. It is often referred to as "Fort Spring," and this title has been much used in other directions. An important military post, and here was held the first court of Greenbrier County. The builder was one of the most remarkable men on the border.

TACKETT—A small stockade fort erected by Lewis Tackett, as early as 1787, located one-half mile below the mouth of Coal River, Kanawha County. The site is now embraced in the town of St. Albans. It was destroyed by the Indians on August 27, 1790.

TOMLINSON—A stockade fort erected in 1770 by Joseph Tomlinson, on a site now embraced in the city of Moundsville, Marshall County. It was located about three hundred yards north of the noted Grave Creek Mound. It was abandoned in 1777, and about that time was destroyed by Indians, but was rebuilt shortly after 1784.

TOWN—See Pleasant.

TROUT ROCK—Situated at present Trout Rock, four miles south of Franklin, Pendleton County.

UNION—A title sometimes by error applied to Fort Savannah, located on site of Lewisburg. Colonel William Fleming, commanding the Botetourt troops in the fall of 1774, records on September 2nd, "we were alarmed by a report that Stuart's Fort four miles from CAMP UNION was attacked by Indians." Other contemporary records agree that the camp was known as "Camp Union" and this has subsequently been by mistake confused with a "Fort Union" and "Fort Savannah."

UPPER TRACT—A stockade erected in 1756, situated a short distance west of the South Branch of the Potomac, at what is now "Upper Tract," Mill Run District, Pendleton County. Destroyed April 27, 1758, during attack by Indians, when many were killed.

VAN METER—A stockade fort, erected in 1774, situated on the north side of Short Creek, about five miles from its confluence with the Ohio, in Richland District, Ohio County. For a time Major Samuel McCulloch was commander.

WAGGONER—See Buttermilk.

WARDEN—A small stockade situated in the vicinity of present Wardensville, Hardy County.

WARWICK—Small fort erected by John Warwick at forks of Deer Creek, near Greenbank, Pocahontas County.

WARWICK—A small fort erected by Jacob Warwick, situated in what is now Huttonsville District, Randolph County. This was an important early point of defense in the Tygart Valley River region.

WELLS—A stockade fort erected in 1773 by Richard Wells. It was situated on the ridge between Cross Creek and Harmon's Creek, in Brooke County. Wells was widely known among both Indians and whites as "Grey Beard."

WEST—A stockade fort erected by members of the West family, on the present site of the town of Jane Lew, Lewis County. It was built about 1770 and for a number of years offered some defense to the important settlements on Hacker's Creek, which suffered more severely at the hands of the Indians than most any other region on the border. The fort was destroyed in 1779, but in 1790 some of the settlers ventured

back and built another fort a short distance away, which was called Beech Fort.

WESTFALL—A stockade fort erected by Jacob Westfall in 1774, located on the southern border of the site of Beverly, Randolph County, near mouth of Files Creek. Scene of an Indian attack in 1782.

WEST FORK—See Richards.

WETZEL—A stockade fort erected about 1769 by John Wetzel and his noted sons, twelve miles from Wheeling, on Wheeling Creek, in what is now Sand Hill District, Marshall County.

WHITE'S—A palisaded house built by Major Robert White, near Cacapon River.

WILLIAMS—A stockade situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, two miles below Hanging Rock, Hampshire County.

WILSON—This fort was located about half a mile above the mouth of Chenoweth's Creek, on the east side of Tygart's Valley River, Leadville District, Randolph County. This was a very important early frontier post and was erected by Colonel Benjamin Wilson, one of the most aggressive and important men on the border. In 1782 twenty-two families took refuge here.

WOODS—A stockade fort situated on Rich Creek, about four miles east of Peterstown, Monroe County. It was constructed about 1773 by Captain Michael Woods and had many important contacts with operations in southern western Virginia, and with the operations of George Rogers Clark in Illinois regions.

UNKNOWN—A fort mentioned by Kercheval and others, unnamed, located seven miles above present Romney.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

This is the second article in a series which contains an alphabetical check list of Revolutionary soldiers who at one time or another lived in what is now West Virginia. The series will continue for several numbers. This material has been assembled and edited by Ross B. Johnston. In the next few years, the Department of Archives and History hopes to publish this list in one volume, properly indexed. The public is invited to send in corrections as the material appears and to submit names of other Revolutionary soldiers whose authentic records qualify them to be listed among the other West Virginians who were with Washington's army.

This list of more than thirteen hundred sketches of Revolutionary soldiers from what is now West Virginia is offered with the full understanding that it represents only part of those who properly belong in this group. There are, for example, large lists of names, such as the roster of George Rogers Clark's forces of men, whose residences were uncertain, although many of the frontiersmen who joined Clark at Point Pleasant and Parkersburg on his western expedition lived west of the mountains.

The sources of this material are notes from the files of the Pension Office at Washington, from the pension applications in West Virginia counties, and from the minute books of the older West Virginia counties, copied by W. P. A. workers on the project sponsored by the West Virginia Commission on Historic and Scenic Markers; from notes of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and other patriotic societies; and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. It was found necessary to

condense many extended notes in order to save space. Doubtless this omitted some points of interest, but in most instances the omissions were repetitions of facts common to many other cases.

(Note: Numbers and letters appearing with many names are references to files of Pension Bureau, War Department, Washington, D. C.)

BARNET, JOSEPH
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 2129 No. S-6583

Enlisted, 1779, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and served one year as private in company under Captain Campbell and Captain McKinney, Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Young. Served in defense of the frontiers. Applied for pension, August 21, 1832, Harrison County, Virginia, aged 71. Certificate issued, November 9, 1832. Among supporting statements were those of Hamilton Gass and A. C. Holden.

Was in battle with the Indians at Clear Field beyond the Allegheny Mountains in which Captain Dunlap, Joseph Skinner, Joseph Martin, and a Mr. Murphy were killed.

BARRET, HENRY

Enlisted in Captain Stephenson's company in 1775.

BARRETT, SAMUEL
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12129 No. S-6590

Enlisted, Shenandoah County, Va., 1776 or 1777, and served two years under Captain Alexander, Calimen, Catlett, Second Regiment Virginia Line, under Colonel Shotwood (Spottswood), General Wolford, and General Wayne. Applied for pension in Wood County, Virginia, August 20, 1832. Certificate issued, March 25, 1833. Among supporting claims were those of Patrick Board and John Stephenson, sheriff, Wood County.

BAYLOR, ROBERT (Captain)

Served in the Revolution as a captain. After its close, lived in Shepherdstown, and, in 1795, was in the Virginia Assembly. He went west later and settled in Logan County, Kentucky.

BEALL, (BELL), ISAAC (Major)

Captain in the Fourth Virginia, February 10, 1776; major, February 21, 1777; resigned June 19, 1778.

Warrant was issued May 19, 1823, in favor of Isaac Beall or Bell, as a major in the Fourth Virginia, Continental Line, Revolutionary Army. He died about June 1, 1779 (or 1797), and his will is recorded in the state of Maryland where he owned land. His widow, Margery, was dead in 1823, and so were three children, Nancy, Alexander, and Isaac. The only heir living was Mazy or Mary Beall Vance, wife of Robert Vance.

BEALL, SAMUEL B. (Lieutenant)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 10497 No. S-37740

In Harrison County, May 18, 1818, Samuel B. Beall, aged 55, made application for pension. He enlisted August 1, 1781, as a second lieuten-

ant in Captain Reville's Company, First (or Fourth) Regiment of the Maryland line, and retired January 1, 1783. Was at the siege of Yorktown. He was granted 200 acres of land on April 14, 1818, for his Revolutionary services. Children were Benjamin, 17; Asa or Azra, 12; Samuel, 9; Sarah, 14.

BEATTY, THOMAS

Enlisted in Captain Shepherd's company. Was taken prisoner at Fort Washington on November 16, 1776, and died, or was killed, while a captive, February 15, 1777.

BEAUMONT, SAMUEL No. S-37736

On August 25, 1836, Samuel Beaumont, in Kanawha County, petitioned that he be transferred from the Ohio pension rolls. His pension application, June, 1818, Washington County, Ohio, gives his age as 63. He enlisted in Saybrook, Connecticut, April, 1776, and served until February 8, 1781, under Captain John Hart, and Colonel Samuel Webbs, in the Continental Line. He was in the battles of Flat Bush, Turtle Bay, Harlem Heights, White Plains, and Elizabeth Town. In August, 1821, he filed a schedule of his property in Ross County, Ohio. He mentions his mother, aged 84, and a daughter, whose name was not given.

BEDINGER, DANIEL (Lieutenant)

By executive order of the state of Virginia, February 5, 1810, additional land grants were made to Daniel Bedinger for sixteen months' service more than the six-year period. Following order was issued in Jefferson County, June 12, 1839:

"Order certified that Daniel Bedinger, Lieutenant in the Revolutionary War, died in the county of Jefferson, Virginia, in the year 1817 (or 1818), leaving the following children:

Daniel, Sr. (since died without children, but was of age and made a will); Margaret Foster (who is since dead, leaving two children, Thomas M. Foster and Margaret Ann Morrison); Elizabeth Washington (wife of John T. A. Washington)—the said Elizabeth is dead, her husband surviving her, and the following children: Lawrence B. Washington (since dead, childless and intestate), Daniel B. Washington, Sally, Benjamin Franklin, Georgianna, Mary, Thornton, Susan, and George Washington; Ellen (dead, childless, without will); Mary Brian (dead, leaving two children, John L. Brian and Sarah Brian); Virginia Lucas (dead, leaving William, Sally, Daniel B., and Virginia); Susan P.; Cornwall (Conwall); Henrietta, wife of Edmund Lee; Henry Bedinger, Jr., and Sally Bedinger, widow of Daniel Bedinger.

Lieutenant Bedinger was born near York, Pennsylvania, in 1761. While an infant, his father moved to Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, Virginia. In June, 1776, he enlisted in Captain Shepherd's company of riflemen. He was an expert marksman, says tradition, and fired his rifle twenty-seven times at the British as they stormed the hill in the attack on Fort Washington. Heitman's *Historic Register* lists him as a first lieutenant in November, 1776, apparently dating from the time he was captured with the garrison when the fort surrendered. He was confined in the old Sugar

House Prison in New York, in which so many Revolutionary heroes lost their health, if not their lives, and also on a prison ship, but was exchanged after two months. Heitman says that he was also captured in the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and that he did not appear to have rejoined his regiment after his release.

BEDINGER, DANIEL (Ensign)

Enlisted as an ensign in the Fourth Virginia Regiment, May 7, 1782, and served until the close of the Revolution.

BEDINGER, GEORGE MICHAEL (Major)

Volunteered in Captain Hugh Stephenson's company of riflemen in 1775 and served as captain from July, 1775 to 1781. Major of a militia regiment at the battle of Blue Licks, August 19, 1782; major of the levies in 1791; major of infantry United States Army, March 11, 1792; assigned to Third Sub-Legion, September 14, 1792; resigned, February 28, 1793.

Born in 1756 and educated in Shepherdstown. After the Revolution, went to Kentucky and served in Congress from that state. Died, December 7, 1843.

BEDINGER, HENRY (Major)

Born, October 16, 1753, in York County, Pennsylvania. Resided in Shepherdstown during the Revolution. Died, May 14, 1843.

Enlisted in July, 1776, in Captain Hugh Stephenson's company and served as a private and sergeant; second lieutenant of Shepherd's Virginia rifle company, July 25, 1776; second lieutenant, Eleventh Virginia, November 13, 1776; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; held prisoner "four years, wanting sixteen days"; promoted, first lieutenant, while prisoner, September 23, 1777; transferred to Seventh Virginia, September 14, 1778; transferred to Third Virginia, February 12, 1781; made captain, May 21, 1781, and served to end of the Revolution. He was advanced to the rank of major during the Indian wars under General St. Clair in 1792. His heirs received unpaid claims of pension as a captain in the Revolutionary War in Berkeley County, Virginia, with a captain's land bounty.

Bedinger married Rachel Strode, December 22, 1784, in Berkeley County. She was born October 19, 1762. Their children were Nancy (married Colonel James Strode Swearingen, who was to lead the detachment of troops which established Fort Dearborn, the foundation of Chicago), January 7, 1786; Betty, March 9, 1787; Sarah, May 25, 1792; Elizabeth (married Braxton Davenport), March 25, 1793; Maria, July 10, 1794; Eleanor Strode, May 23, 1796.

BELL, RICHARD

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23112 No. S-8064

Made application for pension, Harrison County, Virginia, August, 1834. Certificate issued, November 7, 1834. Unfavorable report, March 16, 1835. Dropped from roll, December 30, 1844. Mentions Manley Carder.

BENNETT, ABRAHAM

Born March 23, 1745, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of Isaac

and Mary Bennett; came to Harrison County, Virginia, in 1796, and died in 1824. He was married to Catherine Roberts in 1775 or 1776. She was born December 24, 1754, the daughter of William and Elizabeth Siddons Roberts, and died in Harrison County, Virginia, in 1836. Their children were: Mary, Elizabeth, Abraham, Jane, Isaac, Jacob, Catherine, and five others.

He enlisted as a private in the second company of Philadelphia County militia under Captain Abram Wentz in the Sixth Battalion of Pennsylvania Volunteers under Colonel Antis (Antise). A marker near Dola, Harrison County, indicates where he made his first home in western Virginia.

BENNETT, WILLIAM

Service—New York Va. No. 12520 No. S-5276

Enlistment, June 1, 1777, to 1781, Saratoga District, New York. Private two years under Captain McCracken, First Regiment, New York, Colonel Vanstoke, Colonel Vandyke, Major Graham, Peter Tice, General Gates, and General Washington. Was at Fort Edward, New York, Salem, Stillwater on the Hudson, Johnstown, Schenectady, Albany, and Valley Forge. Born in Rhode Island; date uncertain. Date of death, probably February 20, 1843 (date on pension office papers). Applied for pension, October 17, 1832, Tyler County, Virginia. Certificate issued May 6, 1833.

BENSON, LEVIN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16371 No. R-777

Enlisted, 1776, Augusta County, Virginia, and served until 1779. Private two years under Captain Laughridge, Second Virginia, Colonel Charles Lewis, Colonel Walter, and General Andrew Lewis, apparently in broken terms of enlistment. Applied for pension, August 27, 1832, Greenbrier County. Certificate issued August 2, 1833. Widow, Jane, applied for pension, November 7, 1844, Knox County, Illinois. Refers to minor children, Elsone and Jane Benson. Other persons named were Sam Price, Jacob Price, Joseph Ranes, and Zachariah Sterner. In Greenbrier County in 1835, the widow and son, William, established proof of claim on Levin Benson's estate.

BENTLEY, WILLIAM (Sergeant)

Enlisted, 1777, Jefferson County, Virginia. Previously resided in Frederick County, Maryland. Served as sergeant, 13th Virginia Regiment, under Captain James Russell and Colonel William Russell. Died, 1803. Wife's name, Margaret. Daughter, Prudence Bentley Collins Thornburg.

BERKHAMMER, HENRY

Affidavit in Harrison County shows Berkhammer enlisted as regular soldier in Philadelphia under Captain Church, and served upwards of four years. He was in battles of Germantown, Wood Bridge, Strawberry Hill, Trenton, Fox Chase, and was discharged at the "Trab" or "Trap," near Philadelphia. He fought under General Muhlenberg, under command of Captain John Smith. (Name is signed in German.)

BERRY, JOHN

Service—Continental Line and New Jersey Va. No. 15811 No. S-37757

Enlisted, March 12, 1777, Monmouth County, New Jersey. Private three years in company of Captain John Burris, Continental Line, Colonel David Furman. Was at Long Island, Germantown, White Plains, and Elizabethtown. Applied for pension, Hardy County, Virginia, February 11, 1818, aged 66. Died August 6, 1845, or 1847.

Names of supporting persons: George Berry, Thomas Henry Berry, Benjamin Paw, March French, Lary McLony, Sissely Barrows, or Berry. Benjamin Berry testified that he served with John Berry. Sarah McCloud was the only heir. Certificate issued, November 17, 1818. Notification sent to John Hopewell, Moorefield, Virginia, September 30, 1820. Land bounty claim rejected.

BERRY, HENRY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23943 No. S-5794

Enlisted, Louden County, Virginia, and served nine months, Captain Francis Russell and Captain Cleaveland, Virginia Line, Colonel Alexander. Was at Yorktown during its siege and capture, and later guarded prisoners at Leesburg and Noland's Ferry.

Pension application, February 7, 1834, Hampshire County, Virginia, aged 90. Certificate issued, April 28, 1834. Died May 22, 1836. Bounty land claim also allowed. Married Elizabeth Watkins (spinster), Louden County, Virginia, May 22, 1793. Marriage bond signed by William Berry and Benjamin Cockrill. Widow born in Louden County, and applied for pension, April 26, 1841, aged 81. In support of their claims appeared Jeremiah Miller and George Short.

BERTRUG (BERTING), PETER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23021 No. S-18309

Born in Fairfax County, Virginia, February 15, 1750. Enlisted, July, 1777, Augusta County, Virginia, and served two years under Captain John Hopkins, Captain Smith, Major McClanahan, Colonel Skillern, and Colonel John Dickinson. Applied for pension, October, 1833, Tyler County, Virginia, or Monongalia County, Virginia. Certificate issued, October 26, 1833. Isaac Horner and George Betruck supported his claim.

In pension application in Tyler County, he describes the outward march of the Augusta troops, under Captain Hopkins, which was part of the regiment under Major McClanahan and Colonel Dickinson. They rendezvoused at Staunton and marched to Warm Springs, Bath County, thence to Jackson's River, and across Allegheny Mountain to Camp Union (Lewisburg). There they joined Skillern's forces from Botetourt, and crossed Sewell Mountain to the Great Kanawha. They halted, for several weeks, four miles below the falls, and then descended the river to Point Pleasant.

BESSLEY, ISAAC

Service—Virginia No. R-710

Born, Louden County, Virginia, 1753. Enlisted, March, 1778, Monongalia County, Virginia, and served as private under Captain Evans, Mor-

gan, Cochran, Springer, Colonel Gibson, General Clark, and General McIntosh, Virginia Militia. Applied for pension, Lewis County, Virginia, November 20, 1833.

Supporting affidavits by James Turner and James Tuttle. Statements told how Indians placed bells on horses to trap white settlers. Two children of John Haythorn killed by Indians in 1780 on Dunkard Creek. James Coon was also killed. Affidavit of John Runnion describes Indian hostilities about Fort Lawrence.

VAN BIBBER, JOHN AND PETER (Captains)

John and Peter Van Bibber were of Dutch ancestry and lived in Pennsylvania and Maryland before coming to the Greenbrier Valley, Botetourt County, about 1771. John made an early exploration of Kentucky, passing down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. In 1773, he was one of the surveyors who explored the Great Kanawha, and left his name on a cliff below Kanawha Falls, still known as "Van Bibber's Rock." Both brothers took part in the Point Pleasant campaign in 1774, where a third brother, Isaac, was killed.

Both served as captains of militia. Peter had a blockhouse on Wolf Creek, which was an important frontier outpost. John wrote from Fort Greenbrier near Lowell, Summers County, in 1777. About 1781, the two brothers moved into the Kanawha Valley. Peter died at Point Pleasant in 1796 and John in 1821. Peter's sons, Matthias and Jacob, were noted in border warfare, and his daughter married a son of Daniel Boone.

BIBB, THOMAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 26329 No. S-9100

Enlisted, June, 1780, and served seven months. Pension certificate issued August 13, 1834. Married in Louisa County, Virginia, April 14, 1834. Other records missing.

BIGGS, BENJAMIN (General)

Born in Maryland, 1754. Family first removed to the Glades, then to the site of Uniontown, and finally, in 1774, to Short Creek, Ohio County. First military service was under Dunmore in 1774. In 1776, Biggs was commissioned first lieutenant of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, and in 1778 was made a captain. In February, 1781, he was transferred to the Seventh Virginia, and served on the western frontier until the close of the Revolution. During the Indian wars, he held important offices under Virginia; first colonel, and in 1793 was made brigadier-general of militia. He also was a member of the State Legislature and a Justice of the Peace. He died at his home in West Liberty, December 2, 1823.

BIGGS, JOSEPH (Ensign)

Records in Brooke County, Virginia, show that Biggs had been an invalid pensioner since 1796 on account of wounds received from Indians while commanding a detachment of rangers as ensign at a blockhouse on the west side of the Ohio River opposite Wheeling. He asked transfer to Ohio and lived for a time in Belmont County, Ohio. He died February 1, 1833.

In Marshall County, Virginia, October 12, 1840, Mary Biggs, his widow, made declaration, aged 70, that she had married him, January 14, 1794. Henry Baker, Belmont County, Ohio, declared that Mary Biggs, once Mary Daily, had married Biggs in 1794, the same day as the marriage of his sister.

BIGLER, JOSEPH

Born about 1752 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, later moving to Hagerstown, Maryland. Enlisted, July 28, 1776, in Captain George P. Keeport's Company, First German Battalion, Continental Troops, under Colonel Nicholas Husacker. Came to Harrison County, Virginia, and settled on West Fork River. Died, September, 1829. Wife was Hannah (Booker) Bigler. They had ten children. Pension was granted while living in Harrison County.

BILLS, JOHN E.

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23569 No. W-25243

Born in Hampshire County, Virginia, 1763. Enlisted there, fall of 1779, and served fifteen months under Lieutenant Fee and Captain Berry, Thirteenth Virginia Line, Colonel Enoch. Applied for pension, Hardy County, Virginia, December 17, 1833. Certificate issued February 25, 1834. Died July 9, 1852. Bounty land warrant also issued. Married to Mary Reel by Reverend Valentine Powers in Hardy County. Recorded there. Soldier's widow applied for pension, May 16, 1853. Supporting claims by Jacob and Daniel Kitterman, or Ketterman, John K. Prince, Robert Triplett, T. Louderman, and John Cavanan. Reference to Captain Enoch, an uncle of Bills, Joseph Berry, Lieutenant Hornback, or Hollenback, Colonel Holmes, and Colonel James Marshall.

BLACK, GEORGE Va. No. S-6659

Born, January, 1760, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. While living in Shepherdstown, Berkeley County, Virginia, enlisted January, 1776, as private in Captain Mitchell's and Joseph Swearingen's companies, Colonel James Wood's Twelfth Virginia Regiment. Was in battle of Brandywine and there received wound in hip which fractured bone. He was taken prisoner, released, and again joined army in 1778. But, as an invalid, was sent to Philadelphia where he did garrison duty until January, 1779, when discharged by Colonel Nicola. Allowed pension from January 1, 1786, owing to wound disability. Later moved to Frederick County, Virginia.

BLACKHEAD, ANTHONY

Enlisted from Berkeley County, Virginia, in Captain Shepherd's company, in 1776. Killed in a skirmish near Fort Washington, November 15, 1776.

BLACKSHIRE, EBENEZER

Service—Delaware Va. No. 906 No. S-45995, B.L.W. 349-100

Had apparently sought pension in early days, but according to letter of September 6, 1826, to Thomas Haymond, his claim had been refused,

owing to having too much property. Applied for pension, July 25, 1828, Monongalia County, and was admitted to the pension lists. Joseph Sapp was among supporting affiants.

BLAIR, JOHN NEAL

Service—Virginia Va. No. 4748 No. S-27779

Enlisted, 1775, Augusta County, Virginia. Served as a private under Captain Michael Bowser, or Bowyer, in Colonel Woods's Twelfth Virginia Regiment. Was in battles of Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, siege of Amboy, and capture of Stony Point. Discharge, signed by Colonel Russell, at Stony Point, New York, in 1778, was placed in hands of Captain Jacob Lockheart to procure for him his back pay and land, but he got neither, and the discharge was not returned. Pension application made in Greenbrier County, June 23, 1818, aged 76. Pension certificate issued, December 1, 1818.

BLAIR, WILLIAM

William Blair, aged 50, a former pensioner, January 1, 1788, appeared before the Randolph County court, and declared that on the tenth day of October, 1774, in the militia service of the Colony of Virginia, under the command of Colonel Charles Lewis and in Lieutenant Lewis's company, he received a wound in his left shoulder that rendered him unable to labor for his living. Request for aid was approved by the Court to the Governor.

BLAKE, THOMAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12699 No. S-6657

Enlisted as a substitute for John Blake in the fall of 1777 in the county of Augusta. Served under Lieutenant Captain Jacob Warwick, reconnoitering from Clover Lick to Tygart's Valley River. Drafted in 1778 and stationed at William Warnicks during the winter. In January, 1781, served under Captain William Kincaid, Colonel Sam Matthews, and General Muhlenberg, but was in no battles.

Applied for pension, November 23, 1832, aged 72 years. Certificate issued but was dropped March 9, 1835. Noted that service was in defense against Indians and Tory invasion, and was ruled to be non-regular army service, personal protection, and not authorized military service. Pension application of widow, Mary, likewise refused.

BLAND, (BLAN), JESSE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7003 No. S-8073

Born in Prince William County, Virginia, 1756. Enlisted in Greenbrier County, 1776, and served three years as a private under Captain Arbuckle, Thirteenth Virginia Regiment Continental Line. Applied for pension, Kanawha and Monroe counties, October 18, 1832. Certificate issued February 21, 1833. Death about April 15, 1842. Among supporting claims was that of M. Dunbar.

BLECHYNDEN, CHARLES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12608 No. S-6656

Enlistment, Rockingham County, Virginia, August, 1778 to 1781, in

four enlistment periods, totaling twelve months, under Captain Davis, Messer, Harrison, in armies of General Washington and General Lafayette. Was at siege and capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Applied for pension, March 7, 1833, Pendleton County, aged 75, and certificate was issued, May 11, 1833.

BLIZZARD, BURTON

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23374 No. W-20720

Enlisted in Rockingham County, September, 1777, and served under Captain Dan Smith and Lieutenant Keister in the Virginia line.

Married, December, 1780, to Sarah Kuster (or Keister). Soldier applied for pension, December 4, 1833, aged 73, in Pendleton County. Certificate issued July 10, 1834. Widow applied for pension May 6, 1839, and certificate was issued, July 2, 1841. Soldier died, March 17, 1837. Among supporting claims were those of William McCoy, Thomas Hoover, James Johnson, Frederick Kuster, John Davis, and Mary Swadley.

BLODGETT, ABISHA

Born in Stafford, Tolland County, Connecticut, November 25, 1763. Resided in Connecticut until 1788, then in New York and Pennsylvania, and last thirty years of his life were spent in Ohio County.

Enlisted, July, 1781, and remained in service through 1785 and 1788. Only eighteen months was during the Revolution. Served under Captain Sill of the Eighth company, Fifth Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Sherman and Harper. Applied for pension, December 2, 1833, Ohio County, Virginia, and certificate was issued, February 5, 1834.

BLOSS, VALENTINE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23370 No. S-9102

Born, 1754 or 1757, Augusta County. Died September 4, 1850, Cabell County. Enlisted in Augusta County, and served eight months as private under Captain John Hopkins, and Captain William Noll, Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel Smith.

Applied for pension, October 28, 1833, Cabell County. Certificate issued December, 1833. Letters of E. Bloss, a son, are on file. General Elisha McComas and John Samuels made supporting affidavits.

BLUE, PETER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 15408 No. R-965

Enlistment, May 1, 1781, to November 1, 1781, Hampshire County in company of Captain Anderson, Virginia militia.

Married, January, 1787, in Hampshire County by Rev. Job Parker, Baptist, to Susannah Keltch. Soldier died, July 25, 1844. Soldier's widow applied for pension, August 1, 1856, aged 89, in Circleville, Fayette County, Ohio. She had one son, John, aged 56. Supporting claim also made by Sarah Carder.

BLUNT (or BLOUNT), NAT or NATHANIEL

Enlisted, 1778 and 1779, and served one year under Captain Anderson, Fifth Virginia Regiment, Colonel Ball, Continental Establishment. Hon-

orably discharged at Middlebrook, New Jersey. Applied for pension, August 21, 1821, Botetourt County, or Berkeley County, Virginia. Certificate issued, April 11, 1823. Supporting claims made by David Louden, Captain James Doswell, and Roger Mallory.

BOARD, PATRICK (or PATERICK)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12918 No. W. 5854, B.L.Wt. 47617

Born Pirson Hollow, Pennsylvania, June 12, 1750. Died November 6, 1839. Enlisted, Berkeley County, 1777, and served as private under Captain Darke, Second Virginia Regiment, under Colonel Wayne, General Wayne, and General Washington, at Long Island, Chestnut Hill, and Yorktown.

Applied for pension, October 15, 1832, Wood County. Certificate issued, then suspended, but later restored to his widow. She applied for pension, July 27, 1846, Jackson County, Virginia, aged 79 years in 1850. Bounty land warrant also granted. Soldier and Mary Heezer married, May or June, 1789-90, Washington County, Maryland. Had large family but names omitted. Claim supported by Samuel Barrett, J. M. Stead, David Hopkins, Charles Rector, William Sheppard, Thomas Cane, William Bonnett, David Seaman, and Ann Seaman.

BOCK, MICHAEL
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12774 No. S-6679

Born near Frederick Town, Maryland, 1757, and removed to Monongalia County with his parents in 1769. Enlisted in Monongalia County, May, 1776, and served twenty months under Captain Brinkman, Whetzel, and Sinclair. Applied for pension, April 3, 1833, Harrison County, Virginia, and certificate issued May 22, 1833, but it may have been suspended later.

BOGGS, FRANCIS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 30291 No. S-985

Born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1754. Enlisted, Greenbrier County, March 1, 1776, under Captain Arbuckle and Zera Combs. Applied for pension, October 4, 1833, Nicholas County, but claim was rejected. Among his comrades were John Given and William Boggs. His record shows service of nine months at Point Pleasant and vicinity in 1774.

BOGGS, JOHN (Captain)

Born on the Susquehanna in 1736, taken as a child to Berkeley County, and in 1768 came out to the Youghiogheny. In 1771, he was at Beeson's Fort (now Uniontown, Pennsylvania), and three years later made an improvement on Chartier's Creek three miles west of Catfish Camp. He was there when the siege of Wheeling occurred.

In 1781, while living on Buffalo Creek, his oldest son was captured. In August of the same year, he built a cabin three miles below Wheeling, and in the spring of the next year took his family to Fort Henry for safety. Captain Boggs was sent for reinforcements when the siege of 1782 took place but returned just after the besiegers had departed. He had expected to go to Kentucky, which he visited in 1776, but the Revo-

lution held him on the Ohio frontier. In 1778, he was out with McIntosh in command of a company and for many years was a militia captain. He died in Pickaway County, Ohio, February, 1824.

BOLENER, ADAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23414 No. S-12267

Born October, 1765, Bucks County, near Reading, Pennsylvania. Enlistment, September, 1781, and April, 1782, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia. Served six months as private under Captain Taylor, Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel Canaday. His duties were guarding prisoners.

Applied for pension, October 16, 1832, Hardy County, Virginia. Certificate issued January 17, 1834. Died, September, 1840. Supporting claims made by Diana Lambert, John Mullin, and Mary Jenkins.

Book Reviews

THE OHIO COMPANY OF VIRGINIA AND THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT 1748-1792, by Kenneth P. Bailey, Ph.D. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1939. Pp. 374. $6.00)

This study deserves to rank with the best of the recent monographs on eighteenth century frontier history. Although Dr. Bailey contributes little that is new, he succeeds admirably in giving proper emphasis and in re-interpreting the facts already known. The result is a well-executed narrative which should interest the general reader as well as the historian.

The Ohio Company, organized in 1748, was not a mere money-making concern. It is true that the investors hoped to profit from the lucrative Indian trade and from land speculation. But such men as Thomas Lee and Robert Dinwiddie also saw in the Ohio Company an instrument for checking the French in the Ohio region. This was a good talking point with the Privy Council, which finally consented to grant 200,000 acres of land in the vicinity of the forks of the Ohio. As soon as the company completed a fort and settled two hundred families on the first grant, it was to receive an additional grant of 300,000 acres.

Success favored the Ohio Company during the first years of its existence. Colonel Thomas Cresap, a member, was experienced in Indian affairs and knew how to compete with the Pennsylvania traders. The company's storehouse on Wills Creek became the hub of much commercial activity. In 1750 the company hired the famous frontiersman, Christopher Gist, to explore and survey lands in region of the Ohio. These explorations, alone, should have sufficed to justify the company's *raison d'etre.*

The Crown showed its approval of this active policy by appointing Robert Dinwiddie as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in the summer of 1751. One of the first undertakings of Dinwiddie was the task of satisfying the Indians; this was necessary for both trading and diplomatic reasons. Dinwiddie's efforts in this direction resulted in the Logstown Conference of 1752 and the Winchester Conference of the following year. The French advance, however, together with the hostility of the Pennsylvania traders, practically nullified whatever advantages the Ohio Company gained from these two meetings.

Was Dinwiddie's interest in western affairs that of a zealous servant of the Crown or that of a shareholder in the Ohio Company? "The evidence," writes Dr. Bailey, "seems fairly conclusive that he and the home government saw in this company of adventurers the solid basis for English acquisition of the Ohio region. As a result of Dinwiddie being a member of the company each and every one of his activities in pushing westward expansion and fighting the French quite properly fell under suspicion of vested interest." (pp. 147-48.) According to Dr. Bailey, the facts

do not warrant the suspicions of Dinwiddie's contemporaries. "Undoubtedly Dinwiddie's interest in the Ohio Company was due to an entirely natural interest both in personal gain and in the development of the British Empire. Yet it seems beyond question that the latter was much the stronger of the two motivating forces." (p. 148.) Certainly Dinwiddie's role in the French and Indian War bore out his contention that it was "his solemn obligation to do everything in his power which would benefit the colonies as a whole regardless of what opposition he might encounter . . ." (p. 149). In fulfilling this stern resolution, Dinwiddie no doubt expected to meet with the open hostility of the French and the commercial ill will of the Pennsylvanians. What he probably did not anticipate was the opposition of rival land companies in Virginia which regarded the aggressive Ohio Company with jealous eyes.

The clash between English and French at the forks of the Ohio was inevitable. Both nations were convinced of the legitimacy of their claims; both were reasonably sure of success. The Indian problem also helped to complicate matters. "If the French could punish the Indians for being friendly toward the English, and the latter should then fail to come to their rescue, it would follow that English influence among the Indians would disappear. This disaster Dinwiddie intended to prevent." (p. 175.) His failure to receive the co-operation of the House of Burgesses and of neighboring colonies did not deter the governor from following his imperialistic course. He did not hesitate to make full use of the Ohio Company's resources. Thus it came about that the company's property was placed at the disposal of the army. Braddock's force marched over the company's road from Wills Creek to the forks of the Ohio. Moreover, the army was guided by Gist, fed by Cresap, and saved from annihilation by George Washington, who was also a member of the Ohio Company.

"Braddock's defeat really sealed the doom of the Ohio company." (p. 217.) Its traders could no longer venture into the Indian country. Its buildings on the frontier had been destroyed. Its grant had lapsed and the outbreak of hostilities had made it impossible to fulfill the original conditions. To make matters worse, Dinwiddie resigned in 1757. Henceforward, the company met only misfortune and rebuffs. Nor could the successes of Forbes and Bouquet mend its fortunes. As Dr. Bailey very aptly states in his preface: "When Britain's star was in the ascendant, favoritism toward the company waned." After the treaty of Paris the company's strength was sapped by endless litigation and by the aggressiveness of new favorites, principally the Vandalia Company. Certainly, the Ohio Company deserved a better fate at the hands of the Crown.

An appendix of Ohio Company Petitions and five excellent maps accompany this work. The index is adequate and the annotated bibliography is useful as well as complete.

Charleston, West Virginia. ELIZABETH COMETTI

GAULEY MOUNTAIN, by Louise McNeill (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1939. Pp. 98. $2.00)

Gauley Mountain, though a volume of poetry, is to be regarded not as the usual collection of miscellaneous poems but as a linked sequence of

incidents, sketches, and biographies of the Gauley region from 1750 to the present. It is history and legend, it is portait-painting, it is regional description, it is psychology and sociology, it is a study in environment and heredity — it is all of this. And it is poetry.

Miss McNeill's purpose seems to have been to reveal the spirit of the Gauley region from the time of its settlement through presentation of its inhabitants, with an occasional presentation of a scene or occasion. She does not burden herself and her readers with many personages. But the ones she selects are both deeply individual and broadly typical, they are diversified and they are "characters": with queer quirks and twists and ruling passions. The life-lines of these people often cross one another, so that we get glimpses of the social groupings and cross-currents (somewhat in the manner of *Spoon River Anthology*); and her people are all, no matter what their origins, fast rooted in Gauley. As Miss McNeill follows down the stream of history, she shows us descendants of these early men and women conforming to or rebelling against hereditary urges and adapting themselves — not always happily — to changed social and economic conditions.

Such a purpose it is impossible to fulfill in a book of ninety-eight pages. But that doesn't matter. Miss McNeill is not primarily a historian, though the narrative design of the book forces the historical import upon us and underlies and underlines the individual selections. She is a poet; and because she is a capable poet, she is able to make us sense and experience the situations and incidents and personalites of her separate poems and to cause us to re-create and fill in the scenes. Each poem stands on its own feet, both figuratively and prosodically. The tone is generally realistic, and objective, but sometimes sympathetic, sometimes ironic, almost sardonic. The style picturesque and "strong," larded with plenty of localisms and colloquialisms and "un-poetic" phrases; and it is varied intelligently — as are the metrical patterns — to accord with the theme, mood, and purpose of the individual poem. It is first-rate as poetry —-much better than *Spoon River*, with which the book has been compared.

But though the separate poems are first-rate as poetry, it is, nevertheless, the collection *Gauley Mountain* which has made the stronger impact upon me. If a reviewer may venture to advise a "creative artist"— both words used advisedly—, I would like to see Miss McNeill "turn herself loose" — these words used advisedly, too — on a *novel* of Gauley. Her narrative, descriptive, and dramatic power, her feeling for the folk and for folks, her ability to pierce down to inner impulses and to give them outer manifestations — these mark her as a novelist.

Novel or poetry, *Gauley Mountain* is, in my judgment, the most remarkable hundred-page book which has ever come out of West Virginia.

New York University WALTER BARNES

MODERN MIRACLE MEN, by J. D. Ratcliff (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, pp. 311; $3.00)

Frequently heard today is the complaint that the world has nothing to offer youth in the way of adventure and discovery. There is a tend-

ency to think of this gray-bearded planet as having been scrutinized from one pole to the other by the restless eyes of man; there is a generally-accepted notion that everything of consequence has been done and that one can look forward only to the cheerless prospect of doing them over (as witness the second European war of this century).

Jack Ratcliff's *Modern Miracle Men* flatly contradicts such naive assumptions. Devoted chiefly to advances which have been made on the frontiers of science, it nevertheless leaves the thoughtful reader pondering problems which still must be solved in the laboratories before man can say that he has made a beginning at scientific conquest.

Mr. Ratcliff is a native of Huntington, West Virginia, though for some years his contacts with the city and state have been confined to visits and correspondence with relatives and friends. He was one of the organizers of the magazine *News-Week*, and it was while he was in charge of the magazine's Sports department that he contributed his first article to *Esquire*. From that time on he gave more and more of his attention to free-lancing, and today he is recognized as one of the most energetic and talented writers in the popular science field.

Posing a few of the outstanding problems facing scientific investigators today, Mr. Ratcliff asks: "How many particles are there within the atom? Certainly it isn't the simple structure, a minute chunk of matter, that it once was. . . . Is the universe blowing up, as the expansion theory holds? Possibly the new 200-inch telescope will tell us. . . . Why do children in isolated communities suddenly come down with infantile paralysis? Doctors can't say. What is crude oil? Since it has never been analyzed, no one knows. Why . . . but there is an endless succession of why's. A ferment of why's."

Not alone in medicine and surgery is science engaged in a constant battle of wits with the mysterious forces of nature. Industry and commerce are other broad fields where the warfare against ignorance, superstition, costly production methods, and other handicaps rages just as vigorously, day in and day out.

It is true that great achievements have been made by the men who toil in research laboratories — particularly in the last few years. Only a short time ago sulphanilimide — that great benefactor of mankind and that sworn enemy of streptococci — was an unknown quantity hidden within a red dye with which German chemists had been experimenting patiently but unsuccessfully. For no particular reason (except that persistence is the scientist's most essential quality) the umpteenth attempt to isolate sulphanilimide was successful, with the result that it has established already an almost miraculous record of cures for what had been either incurable diseases or diseases for which the treatment had been long and arduous.

Still more recent is the magic killer of certain types of pneumococci — sulphapiridine — a derivative of sulphanilimide. No less than 693 distinct combinations of elements were produced before the compound, which was given the name sulphapiridine, produced the desired effect on mice, and later on human beings.

Scientists, both in the larger research laboratories and in their own private offices, have accomplished much in the war on disease, but it seems as nothing compared with what remains to be done. Man, after all, has been here but a short time, Mr. Ratcliff points out: "If we compress the age of the world into the space of one year, man would not be born until 7:38 on the night of December 31."

Inasmuch as this is a book largely concerned with researchers, he would be a thoughtless reader indeed who would not be struck by the great amount of research which the author himself has had to undertake to uncover his facts and to present them in a manner both professional and entertaining.

Huntington, W. Va. H. R. PINCKARD

AGAIN THE RIVER, by Stella E. Morgan (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, N. Y., pp. 306; $2.00)

The River took shy Estie and little Belle away from Jasper Morton, leaving him with a motherless brood, an inarticulate rage against the huge, coiling stream, and a deep and abiding faith in his God. Perhaps it was because of this latter quality that he persisted in living on in the bottom land — unbelievably fertile, a lush paradise in summer and a windswept, half-frozen bog in the winter days. Why he did it, Mrs. Morgan makes no effort to explain, but translates Jasper's feelings into something of impotent rage against the elemental organism of the River, which is all things to all men who live by its banks or whose lives touch it in any way.

Properly, the story begins with the silent, near-primitive courtship of Jasper and Esther, their marriage, the births of their children, the darker patterns of death by flood, the maturity of those who survive, and the final driving triumph of the River when Jasper escapes death by drowning only to die by fire — "somehow the feel of it, for a moment, was like a kiss" — as his blazing home floats down the rampaging waters of the Ohio.

Mrs. Morgan writes of West Virginia and its dwellers by the Ohio River, mentions Charleston, and draws her characters with broad sweeps so that the often important details are lost. There are unreal passages where the characters move woodenly and the scenes are as stiff as signboard lithographs. In others, she plucks up the action and discards it again before squeezing out every drop of drama, or humor or tragedy or, in the case of the first flood scene, without developing to the fullest the pure movement to be found in the passages concerning the wild night of darkness, wind, rain, and water when the Morton family was dispersed, and none knew where another had been carried — alive or dead.

There are redeeming pages, however, and when Tillie — "tired of living alone and earning a precarious living as midwife, had found to her joy a permanent home with the Mortons" — moves into a scene, the reader's pleasure is sincere and justified. Rated an old woman at forty-four, Tillie towers above the rest of the characters as a pillar of strength and a veritable fountain of wisdom. When she speaks, you know there is

nothing unreal about her dialect, that she is talking pure West Virginia-ese, and if you are a native of the state, you have seen Tillie's counterpart in a hundred homes. She is the woman who has lost her own family; the one who, without means of support and possessing only her own good humor and good sense, makes herself invaluable in another home without assuming the status of servant.

Mrs. Morgan, who lives at Fairmont and is the wife of a lawyer, has striven mightily to present a simple subject which has eluded her by its very immensity. In this volume there seems to be a lack of understanding between Mrs. Morgan and her subject, a deficiency, we suspect, brought on by a lack of knowledge.

Charleston, W. Va. LEWIS WELCH

DANIEL BOONE: MASTER OF THE WILDERNESS. By John Bakeless. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1939, pp. 480, $3.50)

For a long time an anxious American public has been ready to welcome the writing of a true relation of the eventful life of Daniel Boone — the master of the wilderness in fact. It has been known from generation to generation that his life was made up of events that excite the admiration of hero worshipers. At last, coming from the heart and hand of John Bakeless, the narrative is opened for the use of the reading public. The noble scout, with all his daring skill, hard sense, and scintillating escapes, lives again, this time on the printed page instead of on the banks of the Yadkin or in the canebrakes of Kentucky.

The author does not dwell long on the ancestry and the childhood of his hero. Proper, though brief, space is devoted to Boone's life on the Yadkin, from whence the scene is shifted to the western wilderness where things really begin to happen. It was an epic age and in it Daniel Boone plays a heroic role in a marvelous fashion.

From Boone's paternal home in the Quaker settlement of eastern Pennsylvania, Bakeless himself has taken up the part of a relentless scout and has persistently pursued the trail of the old frontiersman through peace and war, bound and free, and from birth unto death. Apparently every place Daniel Boone lived he was recognized as being great enough to solicit honorable attention. Some written records, therefore, have been left that were sufficient to mark his trail all along the way. All this remaining evidence, whether spoken or written, carved on stone or tree, found in cabin, home or statehouse, is now collected and woven into a story that is substantially true and of most attractive fashion.

Although it is beyond the power of the historian to describe the past as it actually was, John Bakeless, in this instance, has made a grand attempt. It is true, however, that his dependence on contemporary sources certainly make up the major part of the information he has collected, yet there seems to be something lacking in the personal qualities that we yearn to know about the "master of the wilderness." No doubt it will always be lacking. But the distinctive traits of Daniel Boone stand out in high relief on every page on which they are mentioned. The reader

occasionally discerns some of the rare qualities that really made him great. Under all circumstances he was as self-poised as the limestone ledges of Kentucky. And again, "His countenance gave indication of great courage; when he spoke, the very nature of his lips brought the impression that whatever he uttered could not be otherwise but strictly true." Further revelation of Boone's character is expressed in the statement that if anyone indicated doubt in the truthfulness of his stories of adventure the old scout would close up; "he was never boastful; he didn't have to be."

Perhaps the climax of the narrative is reached on page three hundred and twenty-four where it is stated, "He, who had grown up in an obscure cabin on the Yadkin, was now one of the most famous men in the nation. His reputation was beginning to reach across the sea. Strangers sought to meet and talk with him." The reader is not at all bewildered upon arriving at this point. He is well prepared for it by being ingenuously led by the author to that height. From page to page, one sees Daniel Boone on the Indian trail, in the besieged fort, as surveyor, land agent, merchant, and legislator. And then one of his last visitors was the artist, Chester Harding, who was sent to paint the portrait of "one of the most famous men in the nation" who would gather his blanket about him and lie down to sleep on the floor rather than in the softest bed.

The literary style of the author is peculiarly fitting in the treatment of his chief character. His short sentences hit with force and with remarkable accuracy. Action is lively and scenes change with startling suddenness. And that was the manner of life of Daniel Boone; he never lived in a state of certainty.

The thirty pages of notes listed in the back of the volume indicate the great care used by the author in building his work. In some cases, the notes are explanatory, but generally they are citations to references that are quite extensive. The acknowledgment and bibliography further represent the scholarly thoroughness John Bakeless employed in the consummation of his research and writing.

I have read other accounts of the life of Daniel Boone but to my knowledge the book written by John Bakeless is a distinct improvement over anything else attempted on the eventful life of that "master of the wilderness."

West Virginia Wesleyan College
Buckhannon, W. Va. O. D. LAMBERT

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO IN THE CIVIL WAR, by Festus P. Summers (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, xii-304 pp., $3.00)

A shower of rain, a broken bridge, a slight movement based on misinformation, the murder of an unimportant person at Sarajevo, have affected the lives of millions of people and turned the currents of history. May it be said that the operation and maintenance of an insignificant railroad, at least insignificant when compared with the great systems

of today, was responsible for the balance of power that gave victory to the Union in the War between the States?

The Baltimore and Ohio, in the crucial years of 1861-65, operated almost wholly in southern territory — Maryland and Virginia. Its distinguished president, John W. Garrett, had strongly expressed sympathy for the pro-slavery states. In fact, he had pledged the support of the entire railroad system, if necessary, to defend the South.

Professor Summers points out that at the outbreak of the war: "The Baltimore and Ohio was at the crossroads. It was under suspicion at the North and the South alike. Secretary Simon Cameron notified Garrett that the transportation of 'rebel troops' over his railroad would be held a treasonable act. Then came this pungent notice from John Letcher, governor of Virginia: 'In the event that you allow Federal troops to be passed over your road, I will take possession of so much of said road as lies within the limits of this State.' "

Under the cross-fire of officials from Washington and Richmond, Garrett quickly decided to throw in his lot with the Federal government. He and his directors reasoned that it would be to the advantage of the railroad, as well as to the nation, for them to support the Union cause. Then arose many difficult problems. The Confederate forces began to burn railroad bridges, blow up tunnels, and destroy and steal equipment and supplies. However, the railroad was fortunate in having most of its lines in what is now West Virginia where the people were friendly to the Union.

This was the first major war in which a railroad played an important part. Washington, Napoleon, Caesar, and other great military leaders prior to this time had been compelled to transport troops, artillery, ammunition, and supplies by the laborious method of wagons over dirt roads. In addition, these men did not have the use of a railroad telegraph system for transmitting orders, reports, and information. In the War between the States the telegraph system owned and operated by the Baltimore and Ohio was of great value to the Federal government.

The railroad system also contributed materially to the economic aspects of the country in the period of the struggle between the North and the South. The movement of food, clothing, and other necessities aided the civilian population. And, too, the protection the Union soldiers gave the railroad system was of benefit to the country through which the trains moved.

It has often been claimed that West Virginia was made a separate State because it was desirable to have all of the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio in northern territory. This was particularly alleged concerning the Eastern Panhandle section. Professor Summers answers the questions on this subject. However, it is a matter of record that the question of separation had been agitated for more than half a century. The War between the States afforded an opportunity for the creation of West Virginia. This action received almost unanimous approval of the people who lived west of the Alleghenies.

That the Baltimore and Ohio did a great service for the Federal government, for West Virginia, and for the nation as a whole, is clearly portrayed in this illuminating book. In his work, Professor Summers has explored a new field. When one has finished reading it, he exclaims, "Well done!" The book shows evidence of painstaking research from primary sources, a scholarly treatment of a new subject, and an exhaustive study of the events from all angles. At the same time, it is written in a pleasing literary style.

The book is well worth reading and studying by teachers, students, and business and professional people. It is a distinct contribution to West Virginia historic literature. The person, school, or institution that wants an outstanding exposition of the events of the critical struggle between the states, as enacted in northern and central West Virginia, must procure a copy of this intersting volume.

Charleston, W. Va. PHIL CONLEY

FRONTIERS OF ENCHANTMENT: an Artist's Adventures in Africa, by William Robinson Leigh (Simon and Schuster, 299 pages, illustrated, maps; $3.00)

The delightful travel book, *Frontiers of Enchantment*, is an account of the author's experiences in Africa while a member of the Carl Akeley Expedition, in 1926-27, and the Clark-Carlisle Expedition the following year. Mr. Leigh, who is a native of Berkeley County, West Virginia, is a distinguished artist, having studied art at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, and lived for twelve years in Munich, where he studied at the Royal Academy, winning medals for three years in succession. He has painted many landscapes and figure and animal compositions, and also six cycloramas.

In 1926, the well-known taxidermist and big game hunter, Carl Akeley, selected Mr. Leigh to accompany him to Africa on an expedition sponsored by the Museum of Natural History, New York, to make studies for the backgrounds for groups of African animal life, which were to appear as habitat groups mounted in their natural surroundings. Mr. Leigh, who from boyhood had loved animals and "the unspoiled phases of nature," felt that an opportunity to go to Africa was one that he could not afford to miss, in spite of the fact that from his extensive reading of books about Africa, written by such men as Sir Samuel Baker, Livingstone, and Stanley, he had "gathered the impression that Africa was mostly jungle, extremely hot, pestilential, with cannibals, tsetse flies, fever, snakes, and man-eating lions."

"But," says the author, "when I reached the Dark Continent, I found my preconception of it very faulty. Two-thirds of Africa I found lifted between six and seven thousand feet above sea level; not hot, but gloriously delightful; a land not dark, but bright; not jungle, but open; not pestilential but extremely salubrious." In vivid word pictures, as well as in numerous lifelike drawings, Mr. Leigh portrays the Africa of the artist, a land of glamour and romance. He shows himself to be not only a real artist but a true sportsman; for though he passed through not only un-

pleasant, but at times dangerous experiences, he makes one think of the beauties that surrounded him during these trying times and of the joy of accomplishment, rather than of the danger and hardships that he encountered.

The first stop made by the members of the expedition after reaching Africa was at Lukenia, where the party remained for six weeks. Here Mr. Leigh made the acquaintance of many interesting forms of African wild life, among them a family of baboons which he frightened by letting out a blood-curdling Comanche yell, and, consequently, had hurled upon him "all the maledictions and epithets of the baboon language."

He gives an interesting account of the klipspringer, a small antelope about twenty-two inches high, with unrivaled ability to climb cliffs and leap chasms. In the six weeks spent at Lukenia, Mr. Leigh finished his main study for the klipspringer group, and a number of supplementary studies — cloud shadows, rock lichens, vegetation, etc., as guides.

From Lukenia the party journeyed north toward the frontier of Kenya colony. To get there they traveled past the peaks of Mount Kenya, through primeval forests and a semi-desert country. "To the uninitiated," writes Mr. Leigh, "the word *desert* or *semi-desert* calls up visions of desolation, sand dunes, bleaching bones and stifling heat. There was nothing like that in the Waso Nyiro. It was not hot because it was not humid. It was not dismal, but radiant and with vibrating light; not desolate but crowded with life; and as for bones, I saw none there."

An isolated spot near the outlet of a swamp was selected by Akeley as the place that Leigh was to make his study of the black buffalo group. This was to contain a big bull leading the way out of the swamp, followed by a numerous herd extending back into the cover. The vegetation should be shown trampled and crushed where the great beasts had wallowed or battled. But the artist had never seen such a place. He decided to follow the buffalo trail, though warned of the danger of doing so; for the black buffalo is the most dangerous animal in the world, the incarnation of hatred and vindictive cunning. He and his attendant followed the buffalo tracks through the swamp and suddenly emerged into the larger amphitheatre — and there on all sides was the "trampled and tormented vegetation" he sought "where the great beasts had wallowed and wantoned; here they had battled and caroused. . . . I photographed details on my mind," he writes, "color, contour, I had got what I came for."

Space does not permit more than a mere mention of a few of the incidents recounted so vividly by Mr. Leigh, such as: a climb of the volcanos, Mikeno and Karisimbi; a visit to the land of pygmies and monster apes; a night with an African shepherd; and, the saddest happening of the expedition, the death of Akeley.

In the last four chapters, he tells of his adventures when he took his second African trip for the Museum of Natural History, this time to collect material for a habitat group of lions that Mr. and Mrs. George Lister Carlisle, Jr., planned to present to the museum.

From 1932 to 1935, Mr. Leigh worked as master painter in the famous African Hall of the Museum.

It is impossible for a review of *Frontiers of Enchantment* to convey to the reader an adequate conception of the charm of the author's style. He has written a book that will appeal alike to the globe-trotter and to the traveler who stays at home and visits far countries in imagination.

Shepherdstown, W. Va. ELLA MAY TURNER

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW (September, 1939), *Gerrit Smith: Philanthropist and Reformer* (relates to John Brown), by Ralph V. Harlow. Reviews: *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising*, by Leland D. Baldwin; *Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development*, by Shaw Livermore; *The Rampaging Frontier: Manners and Humors of Pioneer Days in the South and Middle West*, by Thomas D. Clark; *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*, by Avery Craven; *The Road to Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Major Abner R. Small of the Sixteenth Maine Volunteers, Together with the Diary which He Kept when He was a Prisoner of War*, edited by Harold A. Small; *The Romance of American Transportation*, by Franklin M. Reck, (reviewed by Dr. C. H. Ambler of West Virginia University). *Writings of General John Forbes: Relating to His Service in North America*, compiled and edited by Alfred P. James for the Allegheny County Committee of the Colonial Dames of America.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (D.A.R.), (October, 1939), *They Call It "The White,"* by Katherine Barrett Pozer; *Fort Ashby, Keyser, W. Va.*, Recently Restored by the Potomac Valley Chapter, N.S.D.A.R.; A Letter written by W. B. Alston, 1846, to Miss Margaret Alderson of (West) Virginia.

JOURNAL OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (September, 1939), *The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois*, by John D. Barnhart.

OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (July, 1939), Reviews: *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising*, by Leland D. Baldwin; *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*, by Lewis E. Atherton.

WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY (September, 1939), Reviews: *Flight into Oblivion*, by A. J. Hanna; *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*, by Lewis E. Atherton.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW (July, 1939) Review, *The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. IV.: England's Commercial and Colonial Policies*, by Charles M. Andrews.

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (July, 1939), Reviews: *A March Past: Reminiscences of Elizabeth Randolph Preston Allan*, edited by her daughter, Janet Allan Bryan; *Writings of General John*

Forbes, Relating to his service in North America. Compiled and edited by Alfred Proctor James. (October, 1939), *The Pride of Virginia, the Heroes of Fort Meigs*, by Lenora Higginbotham Sweeny; Reviews: *Revolution to Reconstruction*, by David K. E. Bruce; *The Ohio Company of Virginia, and the Westward Movement, 1748-1792: A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier*, by Kenneth P. Bailey; *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York*, by Morton Pennypacker.

THE REGISTER OF THE KENTUCKY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (October, 1939), *The Escape of the Confederate Secretary of War, John Cabell Breckenridge, as Revealed by His Diary*, by A. J. Hanna; Review, *Flight into Oblivion*, by A. J. Hanna.

MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE (Autumn Number, 1939), *Memories of Libby Prison*, by Daniel N. Reynolds, (edited by Paul H. Giddens); Review, *George Croghan's Journal of His Trip to Detroit in 1767*, edited by Howard H. Peckham.

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY (November, 1939), *The Relation between Judah P. Benjamin and Jefferson Davis*, by Robert Douthat Meade; Document, *The Montgomery Address of Stephen A. Douglas*, edited by David R. Barbee and Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.; Reviews, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*, by Avery Craven; *From Mill Wheel to Plowshare: The Story of the Contribution of the Christian Orndoff Family to the Social and Industrial History of the United States*, by Julia Angeline Drake and James Ridgely Orndoff; *The Black Man in White America*, by John G. Van Densen.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1939), *Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War*, (concerns John Brown), by Lloyd Lewis; *Missouri Miniatures—Daniel Boone;* Review, *Daniel Boone, Master of the Wilderness*, by John Bakeless.

WEST VIRGINIA REVIEW (September, 1939) *The Mound Builders: Prehistoric West Virginians*, by Alice Partlow Curtis; *The Separation of Virginia*, by W. F. Alexander; *West Virginia in Review*, by Eugenia R. Garret. (October 1939), *Harpers Ferry Episode*, by Frank Ball; *A Guide to West Virginia*, by Bruce Crawford; *Is West Virginia Rural? or Industrial?* by S. Key Dickinson; *A Ghost Town* (Cheat Iron Works), by Minerva Shelby; *New Interest Found in Old Handicraft*, by Mary Eloise Turner; Review, *Again the River*, by Stella E. Morgan, (Reviewed by Margaret Tucker).

MANUFACTURERS' RECORD (September, 1939), *West Virginia's Mineral Resources Offer Opportunity for Industry; The Governor of West Virginia Speaks to Labor.*

FORUM (November, 1939), *Review: Modern Miracle Men*, by J. D. Ratcliff.

READERS DIGEST (November, 1939), *Bedside Miracle condensed from Modern Miracle Men*, by J. D. Ratcliff.

NEWSPAPERS:

MORGAN MESSENGER (Berkeley Springs), *Elaborate Preparation for Bridge Dedication, October 7th.* The new structure is, at present, the largest of its type in the world, September 14.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Exploring Little Kanawha with Minnie K. Lowther*, September 17.

LOGAN BANNER, *History of the Christian Church*, September 16.

INDEPENDENT HERALD (Hinton), *Proposed by West Virginia Writers' Project to prepare History of Summers County*, September 20.

SHEPHERDSTOWN INDEPENDENT, *Interesting 1735 Deed for Land in this Section, William Gooch to Edward Davis*, September 20; *Pack Horse Ford Chapter D. A. R. Dedicates Marker to Robert Lemon*, October 25.

POCAHONTAS TIMES, *Letters Concerning the McNeill Family*, September 21.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *Visit to Texas Recalls Murder of Local Family by Indians Century Ago*, September 29; *Salem's First Settlers Keep Watch for Indians; Lewis Countians Celebrate Weston's 152nd Anniversary*, September 29.

REEDY NEWS, *Fifty Years Ago—Roane County Marriages of 1889*, September 26.

BROOKE COUNTY NEWS, *Presbyterian Church Centennial Book Features Early History of the Upper Panhandle District*, September 29.

SHEPHERDSTOWN REGISTER, *Interesting History of the Episcopal Rectory*, September 28; *Biographical Sketch of Robert Lemon*, October 24; *Historical Articles reprinted from Register of April 12, 1889, Regarding Shepherd College*, November 2.

MORGANTOWN POST, *Revolutionary Soldiers' Graves Marked by Evans D. A. R. Group; Graves of: John Reed in Oak Grove Cemetery, and Captain David Scott and Son, James Scott in Old Cemetery in Granville—History read of each*, October 2.

WESTON INDEPENDENT, *History of Jackson Lodge No. 35, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons*, by Charles Washburn, October 4.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Ashby Academy Operated in Parkersburg by M. E. Church, 1842, Moved to Clarksburg and called Northwestern Virginia Academy—Gordon Battelle, First Principal*, October 8; *Wedding of John Barnett and Nancy Flinn Took Place at Neal's Station in 1787*, October 22; *First Baptist Church is 122 years Old*, October 11; *Romantic Story of Islands in the Ohio River is Told: Authentic Story of Neale's Island and Other Islands in the Ohio River*, by Minnie K. Lowther, November 5.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Government to Mark with Official Government Marker the Graves of James McMahon (sometimes spelled Mc-*

Mechen) in Old Cemetery near Kent—Soldier and Settler, October 4; *Third Presbyterian Congregation will Observe 90th Anniversary, November 2, 1939—List of Ministers Given from 1852*, October 9; *Old Landmark is Destroyed by Fire, Dwelling erected in 1833, Mooretown, Jefferson County*, October 25; *Trinity Lutheran Church Holds 40th Anniversary Services—Charter Members named*, November 4; *Coal Brook Presbyterian Church Celebrates Anniversary—History of Church since 1871*, November 3.

ELKINS INTER-MOUNTAIN, *Stonewall Jackson Equestrian Statue Given Approval by Virginia Art Commission*, October 4.

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *Homecoming of the Tridelphia Methodist Church, October 29, 1939, organized about 1830*, October 8; *Memorial Library Planned for Alexander Campbell*, October 29.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS (Ronceverte), *"Old Tommie" Henning—Early Industrialist of Greenbrier*, October 12; *Bill Rittenhouse, Associate of Henning*, October 12.

MOOREFIELD EXAMINER, *Moore Family Sketch—Father of Moorefield was Considered an Old Resident in 1748*, October 11 and 18.

CLARKSBURG TELEGRAM, *Helvetia Recalls Only All-French Town in U. S.*, October 22; *Old Weston-Gauley Bridge Turnpike is now a Main Traveled Highway*, October 26.

BRAXTON DEMOCRAT, *Braxton County History to be Compiled by Oley Ord Sutton*, October 19.

FARMERS ADVOCATE (Charles Town), *Deed Dated May 17, 1739, Presented to J. P. Co., Deed conveying What is Known as Shannondale Tract —from Lord Fairfax to John Covill, found in Possession of Miss Anne Payne Lewis*, October 20.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *Trinity Methodist Church to Mark 73d Anniversary*, October 25; *Prehistoric Mound Once One of New Martinsville's Greatest Wonders*, November 3.

BLUEFIELD TELEGRAPH, *History of Old Landmark Told—John Davidson's Descendants believe Old Home was Erected about 1793, will be moved to City Park*, October 22 and 28.

THE DEMOCRAT (Weston), *Lewis County Court House Erected in 1886*, November 17.

MINERAL DAILY NEWS (Keyser), *Grave of William Vandiver, (sometimes spelled Vandeven), Revolutionary Soldier from Hampshire County; Broken Tombstones Found on East Bank of Patterson Creek, three miles from Burlington*, October 24.

CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Washington, Friend Owned State Land*, November 12.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *List of Marion County West Virginia Revolutionary Soldiers' Burial Places*, October 25; *Argument Concerning Name of Mayor of Harpers Ferry Held as Hostage by John Brown in the Old Engine House*, October 31; *Nathaniel Cochran and Wife, Elizabeth Ford Cochran, Came in 1789 to What is Now Monongah, West Virginia—Family History Sketch*, November 2.

HERALD-ADVERTISER (Huntington), *River Life is Still Romantic*, September 24.

MCDOWELL TIMES (Keystone), *50th Anniversary of Holmes Memorial Church: History*, October 27.

RALEIGH REGISTER (Beckley), *State's Vast Resources cited by Big Magazine*, September 25; *Lewisburg Library is Given Boost; Government to Help Remodel City Building, Historic Structure Built Before the Civil War to House the Virginia Supreme Court*, November 5.

PENNSBORO NEWS, *Marsh Family Sketch*, by Minnie K. Lowther, November 2.

DOMINION NEWS, *Indian Tribes Once Fought with Whites in Clinton District—Historical Sketch*, November 7.

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL, *One of Valley's First Homes Still Stands on Lens Creek — The Morris-Hensley Families*, October 1; *Century-Old Log Cabin Still Standing in County*, October 22; *A. D. Hopkins, Noted Scientist*, October 29; *Story of Slack Family*, November 5; *Articles by George W. Summers.*

SERIALS (CONTINUED)

THE MOUNTAINEER (Ripley), *Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County*, began February 16, 1939.

RANDOLPH ENTERPRISE (Elkins), *A History of Randolph County.*

GRAFTON SENTINEL, *A History of Taylor County*, by Chas. Brinkman, began April 18, 1939.

Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians

Modern Miracle Men, by J. D. Ratcliff, Dodd, Meade and Co., New York City, 1939.

Cemetery Readings in West Virginia, prepared by the Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., for Colonel Morgan Morgan Chapter D.A.R., Lincoln and Paw Paw Magisterial Districts, Marion County. (Mimeographed.) Charleston, September, 1939.

Petrography and Correlation of Deep-Well Sections in West Virginia and Adjacent States, Volume XI, by Dr. James H. C. Martens, Mineralogist of the West Virginia Geologic Survey, 1939.

Samuel Woods and His Family, by Ruth Woods Dayton. (Contains valuable historical material relating to the Civil War period.) Privately printed, 1939.

The Church on the Western Waters: History of Greenbrier Presbytery and Its Churches, by Lloyd McF. Courtney, D.D., Lewisburg, W. Va., 1939.

The Delectable Country, by Leland D. Baldwin. (Wheeling and Wellsburg are prominently mentioned.) Lee Furman, Inc., Publishers, New York City, N. Y., 1939.

Variety Rhymes: Verse and Jingles by the Reverend Thad Hutson, Banner Printing Company Press, Parkersburg, W. Va., 1939.

The Murder at Deer Lick, by A. B. Cunningham, 1939. (Author is a West Virginian.)

History of the Roush and Allied Families of America, Volume II. Edited by Lester L. Roush, Parkersburg, W. Va., 1939.

The History of the Cresaps. Published by the Cresap Society, McComb, Mississippi, 1937.

The Genesis of Western Culture: The Upper Ohio Valley, 1800-1825, by James M. Miller, Ohio Historical Collections, Volume 9, Ohio State Archaeological Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1938.

A March Past: The Reminiscences of Elizabeth Randolph Preston Allan. Edited by Janet Allan Bryan. (References to "Stonewall Jackson" and other Civil War Material.) The Dietz Press, Richmond, Va., 1938.

Flight Into Oblivion, by Alfred Jackson Hanna (relates to Confederate Government), Johnson Publishing Company, Richmond, Va., 1939.

Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising, by Leland D. Baldwin, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939.

Activity Units for Graded Schools: A Text-Book, by Louise Preysz, 1939.

The Saga of a Country Doctor, by Dr. F. F. Farnsworth, Milton, Upshur County, W. Va., 1939.

Genealogy of the Baltzly,-Balsley,-Polsley Family, by (Mrs.) Katherine A. Polsley Bryan of Columbus, Ohio. The author is a descendant of Judge Daniel Haymond Polsley, an early Lieut. Governor of West Virginia and member of the 40th U. S. Congress.

Early Records of Hampshire County, Virginia, now West Virginia, (including at the start most of known Virginia aside from Augusta District). Compiled by Clara McCormack Sage and Laura Sage Jones. Privately printed, Delavan, Wisconsin, 1939.

Who's Who in West Virginia, A. N. Marquis Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill., 1939.

West Virginia Wesleyan College: First Fifty Years, 1890-1940, by Thomas W. Haught, 1939.

Year Book of Drama, Festivals and Contests, by Ernest Baveley (Weirton High School), Educational Theater Press, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1939.

Let Everybody Sing: Hymns written and compiled by the Reverend M. Homer Cummings, Fayetteville, W. Va., 1939.

History of Jackson Lodge No. 35, A. F. and A. M., Good Hope, West Virginia. (Contains information on General J. A. J. Lightburn.)

One Hundred Years: A History of the Wellsburg Presbyterian Church, prepared for the Centennial of the Church, November 29, 1939, by the Pastor, the Reverend Warren K. Martin. (Contains historical material relating to pioneer days in this section of the State.)

The History and Genealogy of the Dague Family, by Carrie M. Dague, the Welch Publishing Company, Welch, West Virginia, 1938.

A Genealogical History of the Shepherd Family and Other Families with whom They Have Intermarried, together with Biographical Sketches of Their Lives, by Frank C. Shepherd, Wewoka, Oklahoma. (Contains historical material relating to Shepherdstown and other cities of West Virginia.)

The Ohio Company of Virginia, by Kenneth P. Bailey, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1939.

Unleashed at Long Last. An History of Reconstruction in Virginia, by W. T. Squires, Printcraft Press, Inc., Portsmouth, Va.

Life's Loveliness, by Charles G. Stater, Wheeling, W. Va., Valiant House, New York.

Camp Fires on Happy Rivers, by G. D. McNeill, Marlinton, W. Va., Fortuny, New York.

Abraham Lincoln; a Bibliography in Pictures, by Agnes Rogers, Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

The Blackburn Genealogy, by Vinetta Wells Ranke (contains material relating to Jefferson county). Published by the author, Washington, D. C.

John Tyler; Champion of the Old South, by Oliver Perry Chitwood, Morgantown, W. Va., D. Appleton-Century Company, New York.

Contributors

Daniel Clay Draper was born on June 7, 1920, in Boston, Massachusetts, and educated in the public schools of Maine, England, and West Virginia. He is at present a senior in History at West Virginia University, and hopes to receive his degree in February of this year. He plans to continue toward a legal degree, specializing in corporation law.

A. B. Brooks was born in Upshur County, West Virginia; educated in the public schools, taking a business course at West Virginia Wesleyan, and receiving his B.S. degree from West Virginia University; is a Phi Beta Kappa; has been a teacher; forester, West Virginia Geological Survey; forester, West Virginia Experiment Station, and teacher in West Virginia University Summer School; pathologist, U. S. Bureau of Plant Industry, 1916-20; Chief, West Virginia Forest, Game and Fish Commission, 1921-27; Park Naturalist, Oglebay Institute, 1928 — present.

He is the author of: "Chestnut Blight and White Pine Blister Rust," published by West Virginia Experiment Station, 1916; "West Virginia Trees," published by West Virginia Experiment Station, 1915; "Forestry and Wood Industry," Vol. V., West Virginia Geological Survey, 1911; Publications of Oglebay Institute, including Nature Exhibits for Schools; "Bird Houses and Feeders"; "The Nature Trail"; "The Forest Planter"; "Nature Poetry" and "Trail Guide"; besides contributing articles on nature to many magazines. He is at present planting an Arboretum, including all native trees and shrubs on the Brooks' farm, at French Creek. One of his special interests is history. He organized the Ohio County Historical Society in 1929, and is now the president of the Upper Ohio Valley Historical Society.

J. C. Sanders was born in Monongalia County, West Virginia; educated in public and private schools of the state, receiving his A.B. degree from the West Virginia University; has been a teacher for many years in both rural and city schools, serving as superintendent of city schools in Keyser, West Virginia, for twenty years; and now is Assistant Superintendent of Mineral County Schools; he is the president of the Mineral County Historical Society.

O. D. Lambert is a native of West Virginia. He received his A.B. degree from the University of West Virginia, A.M. from the University of Chicago, and Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University.

He has served as Professor of History, West Virginia University Summer School, and has been Dean of West Virginia Wesleyan College since 1929.

He is the author of *Presidential Politics in the United States*, Duke University Press, 1936; *Pioneer Leaders of Western Virginia*, 1935; and numerous articles and book reviews.

H. R. Pinckard was born in Illinois. He attended the University of Illinois and, later on, Marshall College, West Virginia, from which he re-

ceived his A.B. degree in 1929. He has been a member of the faculty of the Department of Journalism, Marshall College, since 1929.

Mr. Pinckard has been the editor of the jointly-sponsored Sunday paper, the *Herald-Advertiser* of Huntington, since this merger was effected some years ago.

He is widely known for his book reviews which have been a feature of this Sunday newspaper for many years.

ELLA MAY TURNER was born in Jefferson County, West Virginia; graduated from Shepherd College State Normal School, 1895; A.B. degree, West Virginia University, 1906; and A.M. degree, 1911; since 1907, instructor in Shepherd State Teachers College, now in the Department of English.

Editor and compiler of *Stories and Verse of West Virginia*, *West Virginia Verse of Today*, and author of *James Rumsey—Pioneer in Steam Navigation.*

ELIZABETH COMETTI is not a native of West Virginia, but she has spent most of her life in this State. She received her A.B. degree from Marshall College and her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Virginia. She taught for several years in the Charleston public schools and during the past summer was a member of the history faculty at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

WALTER BARNES is a native of Ohio, but he has spent many years as an educator in West Virginia, serving as Teacher, Principal and Superintendent of Schools; Head of the Department of English, Glenville Normal School; Head of the Department of English and Dean of College, Fairmont State Teachers College; formerly editor of *West Virginia School Journal* and member State Board of Education, West Virginia.

Dr. Barnes has been for several years Professor of the Teaching of English, New York University; Teacher and Lecturer, summers, University of Pittsburgh, University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago, New York University, and University of Washington. He received his A.B. degree from West Virginia University, 1905; A.M. from Harvard, 1911; Ph.D. from New York University, 1930; and Litt.D. from West Virginia Wesleyan College, 1935.

He is the author of: *English in the Country School*, 1913; *An Easy Primer*, 1918; *New Democracy in the Teaching of English*, 1923; *The Children's Poets*, 1924; *English for American High Schools*, 1931; *The Photoplay as Literary Art*, 1936.

Editor: *Palgrave's Golden Treasury*, 1915; *Types of Children's Literature*, 1920, etc.

LEWIS WELCH has lived practically all of a short life in West Virginia, receiving his education in the public schools and Marshall College. He is a newspaper man, beginning work with the *West Virginia Review*, and since 1937, with the *Charleston Daily Mail.*

PHILIP MALLORY CONLEY, for biographical sketch, see Volume 1, No. 1, West Virginia History.

ROY BIRD COOK, born near Weston, West Virginia; pharmacist; associate editor of *Weston Independent;* president, West Virginia Newspaper Council; president, National Association Boards of Pharmacy, 1938-1939; member, American Pharmaceutical Association, (chairman House of Delegates, 1935-1936); member, West Virginia Pharmaceutical Association, (president, 1918-1919).

Author: *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 1924-25; *Lewis County (W. Va.) in the Civil War*, 1924; *Lewis County in the Spanish-American War*, 1925; *Washington's Western Lands*, 1926; *Rise of Organized Pharmacy in West Virginia*, 1931; *Annals of Fort Lee*, 1931; *Lewis County Journalists and Journalism*, 1936; and various historical brochures and pamphlets.

Collection of West Virginia and Virginia Civil War documents.

Editor's Page

In presenting the second issue of this magazine, the editors take some slight degree of pride in the public reception of the initial number. Certain it is that the comment, written and otherwise, which came across our desk indicates a widespread interest in this field. New material, relative to some phase of the subject of the articles carried, developed; and in others, questions were brought up which can but lead to interesting developments in the preservation of the history of the State. The sections, under the caption of *State History as Featured by the Press* and *Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians,* appear to have set in motion investigations indicating a real service to our people.

It is doubtful if any single episode in the history of the State received such general publicity as the trial of John Brown. Practically all papers at home and abroad devoted columns of space to this subject which, in 1859, and for years afterwards, was on every tongue from coast to coast. The article by Daniel Draper approaches this subject from a new standpoint and is a distinct contribution to the history of the affair which had such far-flung results.

The period of the Indian wars and the American Revolution produced few more thrilling episodes than the siege of Fort Henry (Wheeling), in 1782. Many distorted stories have been handed down, written and otherwise, but it remained for A. B. Brooks to bring a mass of material into a single article which gives the developed facts. The illustration was sketched, based upon the best material available, in an effort to maintain historical accuracy.

The story of *Old Fort Ashby* is simply another amplification of a well-known view that a historian on the ground can always find something overlooked by those who treat from a national aspect. J. C. Sanders has done

an exceptional piece of work, and the wealth of material found in public archives shows the need of a new and complete study of affairs along the border during the French and Indian War. The illustrations have been selected with a view of preserving salient features of the construction of this frontier post, now practically the only one left in a vast region. As a basis for future studies, and because of numerous questions that come into the Department of Archives and History, a check list of *Virginia Frontier Defenses* is reprinted. As this magazine continues, we hope to record the story of a number of the interesting frontier posts, which did so much to afford protection to the pioneers who came into present West Virginia in the beginning of settlement.

West Virginians in the Revolution continues to grow in interest and in historical value as additional contributions develop. The Book Reviews "speak for themselves."

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL

CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY

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